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CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHRONICLE	601-604
TOPICS OF INTEREST	
The Importance of Negro Leadership—Safeguarding Catholic Interests Throughout the Nation—Sandalwood and Cherry Blossoms—What Is the Sub-Conscious?—Two Aims in Coal Reorganization	605-613
COMMUNICATIONS	613
EDITORIALS	
The A. F. L. on State Control—Overalls and Silken Garments—Governor Pinchot's New Problem—Marriage and Paganism—The Needy Student	614-616
LITERATURE	
William Hazlitt—A Wave—Reviews—Books and Authors—Books Received	616-620
EDUCATION	
Is Literacy Enough?	621-622
SOCIOLOGY	
The Sailor and the Baker	622-623
NOTE AND COMMENT	623-624

Chronicle

Home News.—Though the President has thus far adhered firmly to his announced intention of making no public speeches until the opening of Congress in December, still he has by public acts and

The President's Policies

proclamations made known his attitude on several pressing national questions. Prominent among these questions is the situation of the farmers, who are still suffering from the depression of the reconstruction period. It is recognized on all sides that no party can hope to find friends in the Middle West unless it makes a serious effort to satisfy the grievances of the farmers. Recent elections and the strength shown by the Farmer-Labor party have confirmed this view. Since his accession to the Presidency, Mr. Coolidge has been besieged by many agencies in Washington, to call a special session of Congress. This he has steadfastly refused to do. It is believed in Washington that even in the session beginning in December there is little likelihood of Congress being able or disposed to seek, much less adopt, any practical remedies. Acting on this view the President has appointed as commissioners to the Middle Northwest, Eugene Meyer, Jr., managing director of the War Finance Corporation, and Frank W. Mondell, and directed them to assist wheat growers in that section

in the formation of cooperative marketing associations. These associations will extend credit to farmers up to a certain percentage of their wheat crop, in order to enable them to dispose of their crop abroad in a steady flow consistent with demand. It is explained that this is not a scheme for price fixture, but a method of enabling the farmers to dispose of their crop at as good prices as the market allows, without subjecting them to the necessity of letting their crops go at a heavy loss when prices are low. As to the question of domestic transportation of crops, considerable difference of opinion still exists. Representatives of the farmers are demanding lower freight rates and a reduction of Federal and State taxes. The railroads, on the other hand, state that the remedy does not lie in lower freight rates, which it is claimed would only cripple the roads and make the farmers' situation worse, but in better transportation facilities.

Other significant acts of the President were his proclamation declaring the week beginning November 18 as National Education Week; a letter to the Western Tariff Association affirming the principle of high protection; and the call to the Governors to meet him in Washington on October 20, to discuss pressing questions of law enforcement, particularly in connection with the Volstead Law, and the immigration and narcotic laws. At this conference the heads of the Departments of Justice, Treasury and Labor will be present and make known the views of the Government on methods of law enforcement, and in particular the possibility of State cooperation with Federal action in the matters to be discussed. There will follow a discussion on this question of State cooperation, which apparently will be asked of the Governors.

The first real test in the bitter struggle in Oklahoma between the Governor and the Ku Klux Klan ended in victory for the Governor. At noon of September 26, just after the call for the session had been formally filed with the Secretary of State, members of the Legislature

Governor Walton and the Klan

attempted to hold a session at the entrance to the legislative chamber. They were faced by the military commander of the city, who read the executive order forbidding the meeting. There was no violence of any kind and the crowd quietly dispersed. The legislators, however, claim that the Legislature really did meet and is now in recess pending the call of the presiding officer. This claim will be made the basis of the next struggle

which will take place in the courts. An injunction was sought against the Governor and the military, on the ground that they were interfering with the orderly course of constitutional government. Governor Walton, however, announced that the use of military to combat "hooded outrages" would continue "until domination of one-third of the counties of the State by the Klan is broken." His opponents, on the other hand, charge that by his official acts, particularly the use of military in his war on the Klan, the Governor has overthrown constitutional government and assumed the powers of a dictator. Consequently, sixty-seven members of the Legislature applied for a temporary injunction restraining the military from interfering with the meetings of the House.

On October 2 the popular referendum was held on the question of convening the Legislature. The Governor lost this struggle. He, however, immediately issued a call for a special session, naming as the purpose, a consideration of the Klan. His opponents among the members of the lower house declare they will ignore this, and proceed first to the impeachment of Governor Walton. The Governor's sole hope now lies with the Senate, not altogether unfriendly to him.

Germany.—The political turmoil in Germany is apparently reaching a crisis. The Stresemann Cabinet, the sixth under the new German Republic, resigned on Wednesday only to be reconstructed after three days on almost the identical plan on which it had first been conceived and called into being.

The Dead and Revived Coalition In taking up the chancellorship last August, Dr. Stresemann faced practically the same situation that had confronted his predecessors and which proved their undoing. The one person to stand immovable in all this political fluctuation was Friedrich Ebert, the first President of the Republic, who still retains his position, but who seems to have been almost entirely lost to view. It is not impossible, however, that present conditions may bring him to the foreground again. After the resignation of his Cabinet, Stresemann was accredited with seeking to build up a civic dictatorship independently of the old coalition. But, whatever his plans may have been, circumstances proved too strong for him, and on Friday it was decided to restore a Cabinet similar to the former. During the brief interval between the dissolution and proposed reconstruction of the Cabinet, Dr. Stresemann found that he was confronted by the strong opposition of Stinnes who, it is said, believed that he would not find the Chancellor either competent or willing to second his own plans, prominent among which is the abolition of the eight-hour day, which may nevertheless be doomed. Without the support of the industrialists it was impossible for Stresemann to defy the Reichstag by suddenly confronting it with a districted ministry of nonpartisan experts, invested with extraordinary authority that was to have been based on a dicta-

torial decree from the President of the Republic. Following, therefore, upon the caucuses held on October 5 by all the parties of the old coalition, consisting of Socialists, Democrats, Center and People's parties, an agreement was reached to support the Stresemann Government and to vote the measure which was to accord him absolute dictatorship in social, economic and financial matters, no less than in the preservation of peace and order. In this way the four warring parties once more united for the time. How long the patched-up truce can last is another question. On facing the Reichstag Stresemann found himself confronted with bitter opposition.

Great Britain.—Attending the British Imperial Conference which opened its seventh session in London on October 1, there were assembled delegates from Australia, Canada, Ireland, India, Newfoundland, New Zealand and the Union of South Africa. The countries thus

Imperial Conference represented as members of the British Empire of States comprise one-fourth of the land area and population of the globe. For the first time since its inception, the Imperial Conference has been divided into two sections, the general gathering presided over by Prime Minister Baldwin and the economic conference under the chairmanship of the Duke of Devonshire. The program, as far as can be learned, is vague as to specific details, but it is asserted that the main agenda fall under the three headings of defense, constitutional questions and trade. The two outstanding economic problems that demand the particular attention of the Premiers are those of unemployment and of trade. The former has been insisted upon by the London dailies as of utmost importance. The *Daily Express* declares that there is only one question that stirs the imagination of the whole British Empire—unemployment, and entreates the Ministers to "let the Ruhr wait, let reparations wait, let everything else wait and let the Premiers remember that if they let this opportunity slip through their fingers they may never have another." In regard to the question of trade, there is keen interest displayed both on the part of the London Government and that of the greater Dominions. Speaking of this phase of the Conference the *Daily Mail* insists on the restoration of the economic balance by substitution of new markets in the Dominions for those of impoverished Europe. The larger Dominions likewise are eager for some settlement since the closing of the European markets and the high tariff existing in the United States have had an adverse effect on their foreign trade. All of the Premiers, it is believed, despite the divided sentiment in their home countries, especially in Australia and Canada, are of the opinion that some sort of an agreement should be reached by which there would exist an improved inter-Empire trade, closer cooperation and reciprocal preferences.

The political aspect of the Conference was laid before

the Premiers by Prime Minister Baldwin in his address of welcome. In a general way he reviewed the international situation as it affected the Empire; he reiterated the British desire to continue friendly relations with France, commended the effective part played by the League of Nations in the Greco-Italian incident, and spoke of the debt settlement with the United States and the results of the Washington Disarmament Conference. On October 6, Lord Curzon laid before the conference in a more detailed way a statement of British foreign affairs. With regard to the Ruhr, Lord Curzon explained that Great Britain was now awaiting proposals from France. He expressed considerable anxiety over the present German situation, declaring frankly "We now see the beginning of the internal disruption of Germany which we all along feared, but which we had consistently been told to regard as a bogey. The disruption is not merely an ominous political symptom; it has a pretentious economic significance, for it means the ultimate disappearance of the debtor himself." In his long account of the Turkish negotiations, the Foreign Minister referred to the prestige which Great Britain gained at the Lausanne Conference, which, coupled with the strong financial position of Britain "should enable us to play such a part in the financial and economic reconstruction of Turkey as the stability of the future Turkish Government may justify and our own interests demand." The other topics treated of by Lord Curzon were not made public, despite the protests of the press both in England and the Dominions. A veil of secrecy is being thrown over the meetings of the Premiers and press correspondents are not allowed at many of the meetings. The reason alleged for this secrecy, according to Canadian papers, is the embarrassment which might be caused by the publication of news concerning the foreign relations of the Empire. The Parliaments and peoples of the Dominions, on the other hand, feel that they should have more complete reports of the procedure of the Conference.

Italy.—It is evident from the countless references made to the recent Eucharistic Congress celebrated at Genoa in the early days of September, that it created a deep impression not only among Italian Catholics but among the "anti-clericals."

Echoes of Eucharistic Congress Writing in the *Osservatore Romano* for September 17-18, Don Luigi Gerevini calls attention to this fact and speaks of the congress as an event of the first importance. The grandeur and magnificence of the congress, says the writer in the *Osservatore*, were recognized by such a paper as *La Giustizia*. But this journal, says the writer, immediately adds that it could not be proven from the external conduct of the Genoese people that any deeply settled religious convictions ruled them. The fact is, says the *Giustizia*, that the vast majority of the Genoese are not only ignorant of the fundamental principles of their Faith, but are also unacquainted with the proper ritual suited to the occa-

sion as well as with the ceremonial to be observed towards ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Leaving aside the latter charge, founded evidently on a misunderstanding on the part of the reporters and editors of the *Giustizia*, Don Gerevini considers of far more importance the second charge that the vast majority of the Genoese people showed itself ignorant of the fundamental teachings of the Catholic religion. In proof of the falsity of the charge, he refers to the evident piety, testified to by the Papal Legate sent to the Congress by Pius XI, Cardinal de Lai. He refers also to the thousands who received Holy Communion during the days of the Congress, old and young, rich and poor. It might be easy, he continues, for the inhabitants of Genoa to rival each other in purely external homage to the Eucharist without a very deep sentiment of religion, but it was quite another thing to see thousands crowding the confessionals, the Masses and the Communion rail. These were signs of a living faith and the best refutation of the charges made by the *Giustizia*. From September 5 to September 9, Genoa witnessed a magnificent and solemn pageant in honor of the Eucharistic Christ. The Congress, writes Don Gerevini, was only the culminating event in a series of religious ceremonies of the last two years which have awakened the faith of thousands both in Italy and in other countries. Among them can be mentioned the celebrations in Italy in honor of the canonization of St. Ignatius, of St. Philip Neri, of St. Francis de Sales; the Beatification of the Little Flower; the triumphal passage of the statue of Our Lady of Loretto to her honored shrine. At the same time, the Apostleship of Prayer made a great step forward among all classes in the Peninsula, the work of the foreign missions received a more popular and enthusiastic support, Catholic associations for the young of both sexes were strengthened and more strongly organized.

On the last day of the Eucharistic Congress at Genoa the final act and the crowning triumph of the Eucharistic Christ took place in the magnificent harbor of Genoa the Proud, where once the returning galleys of the republic came home from foreign lands laden with the richest spoils. The *Corriere d'Italia* splendidly describes the scene, the evident devotion of the people, the harbor filled with shipping of every class, from great warships to the humblest fishing craft, airplanes dropping flowers on the waters over which the Sacred Host was to be borne, Cardinals, Bishops and priests, civil and military authorities, the Mayor of Genoa in his robes of state close by his Eminence Cardinal de Lai, the Papal Legate, the magnificent altar erected on the Bucintoro, the state-galley that recalled to Genoa the days of her past glory; the Host lifted by the Cardinal Legate over the waters and the immense throng, and calling down on Genoa, Italy and the world the blessing of peace and love. A sublime spectacle, adds the *Corriere*, one also that proves how untrue were the charges of the *Giustizia* that the Genoese do not understand the fundamental principles of their faith.

Spain.—The nature of General Primo Rivera's coup d'état or pronunciamiento by which a military directorate has been for the time being substituted to the parliamentary form of government has been

*Nature of the
Coup d'Etat*

greatly misunderstood in foreign countries. While, in some ways it might be compared to the action of Signor Mussolini and his Fascisti when they seized the reins of power in Italy, to regard the stirring events which lately took place in Spain "as a mere backwash from Italian Fascism," as the London *Tablet* says, is to misunderstand them profoundly. According to *El Debate* of Madrid, in its leading article of September 15, the movement headed by Primo Rivera is a decidedly popular and democratic one. It is viewed in this light by all ranks of the Spanish people. Not only has it the adhesion of the better classes, but it has met with favor among the workingmen, as may be seen by the expressions of approval in their papers. Even the anti-militaristic press has gone out of its way to give unmistakable proof that it is behind the acts of Rivera and his directorate. The movement is not against the King. It is not a revolution against the monarchy. If it were, King Alfonso, of whose personal gallantry and daring there can be no doubt as he has time and again given unmistakable proofs of them, would not tamely yield up his throne. It is against, not the parliamentary form of government in itself, but against parliamentarism, the corruptions of parliamentarians, the tyranny of *caciquismo* or bossism, against what we here in America know as the omnipotence of the political leader, the invisible power in the background of public life. It aims at the purification of official and administrative bureaus and officials, the total overthrow of the rule of politicians who think of themselves first and Spain after. The movement has had, as chronicled before, the King's sanction. The King himself has time and again made fruitless endeavors to rid Spanish official life of its incubus. He is the first to second what may be termed the drastic but perhaps salutary measures to accomplish that end taken by Primo Rivera. The latter clearly states that he is not a reactionary and that he does not intend to be an autocrat. He openly professes to be a democrat and a liberal. The Cortes have been dissolved, but Rivera promises that he will not hold power a day longer than necessary and that he wishes to see the Cortes again in session, that he wants a free and untrammelled election, and Ministers in office responsible to the representatives of the people and bent on performing their administrative tasks for the welfare of the Spanish nation as a whole and not for a chosen few. The announcement that he intends to carry on the campaign in Morocco with renewed vigor and, if possible, to bring it to a close in the near future, was welcomed by every class of the nation. For the country has felt itself humbled by the repeated reports of defeat and is weary of the protracted struggle. He has also set his face against extreme forms of Separatism, but is in favor of a liberal and broadminded

policy of "regionalism," by which the spirit, customs and laws of the various provinces would be safeguarded, while all should acknowledge their common nationality and the supreme power of the central Spanish Government. General Primo Rivera in his pronunciamiento openly condemned irreligion and impiety. His movement, it was reported at first, had the approval of the Holy See. That was later on contradicted. The Holy See does not interfere in purely political affairs. But it can be said that it is watching the events in Spain with the keenest interest.

The Ruhr.—A significant event was the conference held at the French headquarters in Duesseldorf between the German Industrialist leader, Hugo Stinnes, perhaps the most powerful political as well as financial factor in Germany today, and General Degoutte. On the same day

*The Reparations
Question*

Stinnes spent an hour with the imprisoned head of the Krupp works, Baron Krupp von Bohlen. In his conference with the French military authorities Stinnes was accompanied by three prominent German industrialists. According to the New York *Times* cabled dispatch, they came to submit a definite program for future cooperation and for reparations payments based on Allied participation in the German industries. The plans thus submitted were at once forwarded to Paris by a special courier. The program is understood to include a loan guaranteed by the Rhenish railroads and by the Ruhr's immobile riches, mines and industries. The fact that the German delegation in no way represented the German Government is held not to diminish its importance.

A revised statement on the total amount of the reparations actually paid by Germany up to June 30 has now been officially issued by the Reparations Commission. It credits Germany with the payment of 8,213,670,000 gold marks, of which 1,900,000,000 were in cash and 3,250,000,000 were in merchandise. The remainder consists of shipping, cables, and of credits for the Sarre Valley mines and ceded territories. Other items of this statement are thus summarized by the Associated Press:

Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium advanced Germany 392,000,000 gold marks under the Spa agreement to improve food conditions in the Ruhr, which had been a prior claim under reparations along with the army costs. The army costs were: France, 1,321,000,000 gold marks; Great Britain, 963,000,000; Belgium, 246,000,000, and Italy, 10,750,000. The American army expenses of more than 1,000,000,000 gold marks were not included in the statement, but are mentioned in a footnote.

Of the total receipts 5,500,000,000 gold marks have been distributed, Belgium receiving the largest share of the cash distribution, 1,081,000,000 gold marks. While the money drawn by France has been only 144,000,000 marks she was paid 1,357,000,000 gold marks in merchandise, which is double either Great Britain's or Belgium's share. The total received by her, therefore, is a little more than 1,500,000,000 gold marks. The shipping, cables and territories are still listed in the "suspense account," pending various settlements.

The Importance of Negro Leadership

WILLIAM M. MARKOE, S.J.

MORE than ever before in our history Negroes are responding to leadership. More than ever they are interested in who's who among colored people. The rank and file want to know just what the various outstanding figures of their race advocate and the reasons for the theories and policies they advance, and are more or less intelligently aligning themselves with this or that leader whom they consider most trustworthy and best capable of alleviating their grievances. Now more than ever Negroes are systematically choosing their leaders and depending upon them.

An important reason for this is the remarkable development of the Negro press which enables the intelligent ones of the race to make their appeal direct to the colored population whose literacy has become very extensive. Innumerable families regularly receive "race" papers and periodicals edited by Negroes. They read them and brood over the abuses depicted therein and vociferously debate the various brands of proffered remedies. Many of the more dissatisfied of the laboring class in the North hearken eagerly to the preachments of Mr. Claude McKay and ignorantly, but enthusiastically, dream of joining hands with the I. W. W. or vision the One Big Union as the ultimate means of salvation. In general, however, even this type of Negro cannot readily be made a practical Bolshevik. He may dream and theorize, but he is naturally docile, forgiving, patient and cheerful, which virtues do not well become the revolutionary.

Opposed to the radical Socialistic agitators is that school of leadership whose originator and greatest prophet was Booker T. Washington. Industry and patience are its slogans. In education it emphasizes industrial training rather than the classical and more scholarly attainments. Its hope is that when the Negro has become a more important economic factor, especially in the fields of skilled labor and farming, he may assume to advance a step higher. This group looks upon Robert R. Moton, principal of Tuskegee, as its logical spokesman, and Mr. Moton and his followers are considered as representative of the ultra-conservative type of Negro leadership.

But the great majority of educated Negroes have broken with the conservatism of Booker T. Washington, though at the same time they repudiate anything like extreme radicalism. In their revolt they have carried with them the great masses of the more illiterate. They have practically captured the Negro press and through its columns they largely control Negro thought in general. This group presents a third type of leadership which advocates a progressive middle course. It has a definite program

and is very active in carrying it out. It makes use of systematic organization and publicity. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, a Harvard graduate, and editor of the *Crisis*, is undoubtedly the outstanding leader of this party, and the organization of which he is the moving spirit, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, is the most thoroughly organized and aggressive exponent of its policy.

The program of this group includes federal legislation against lynching, equal educational facilities not only in the trades but in the best classical and mental training, fair trial in the courts, the abolition of peonage, economic equality, better housing facilities, the abolition of the "Jim Crow" car, equal opportunity in the civil, military, and naval service, and the recognition of the Negro's right to vote and to do jury service. Considerable success has accompanied their efforts. A filibuster in the Senate prevented that body giving its approval to the Dyer federal anti-lynching law which had already been passed in the lower house. This party advises the southern Negro, if he is not treated fairly, to come North, and it is this advice, as well as the labor agents and the boll weevil which is inducing tens of thousands of Negroes to seek relief above the Mason-Dixon line. According to the Georgia Bankers' Association more than 225,000 Negroes have left that State during the past three and a half years. During the first six months of 1923 more than 75,000 migrated. Other southern States have been similarly affected.

In considering the growing importance of Negro leadership one instinctively asks where do colored leaders come from, where are they molded and formed? In 1923 more than 650 Negroes received the bachelor's and master's degree from non-Catholic colleges. There were in addition more than 450 professional graduates from non-Catholic schools. Probably not more than a dozen Negroes have graduated from Catholic colleges or universities in the history of the United States. The Negro leader is almost wholly fashioned by non-Catholic influences. The result is an unmistakable evidence of infidel tendencies and of the insidious spread of a materialistic philosophy and code of ethics especially in the center and left wings of Negro leadership. Dr. Du Bois, probably the most influential Negro the country has produced, is an advocate of divorce and birth-control, and preaches his doctrine to an ever increasing multitude of disciples.

Hence the importance of a Catholic leadership among Negroes. Such a leadership can be developed only through Catholic education. This education must in every sense meet the demands of the modern Negro and include

within its scope not merely industrial training but that highest mental discipline and culture which colored students are so readily obtaining from non-Catholic sources. Any lesser conception of Catholic Negro education, though it may accomplish a limited amount of good, will not solve the problem. At the close of the recent school year 59 non-Catholic "white" colleges and universities in the North graduated 278 colored students. As many as 87 had colored students in attendance. Four Catholic schools of higher education graduated five Negroes. A larger number had Negroes on their rolls. Yet this poor showing represents a record-breaking year in Catholic Negro education. We must show a yearly increase in the number of our colored graduates if we hope to cope with the situation.

It is encouraging to note that many Catholic colleges and universities are manifesting a more liberal attitude towards the admission of Negroes. They are beginning to realize that the difficulties, often imaginary, which they may have to confront because of the reception of colored students, are no greater, and often not so great, as those confronting Yale, Harvard, and all the principal State universities, which schools yearly add their quota to non-Catholic Negro leadership. If approximately 300 colored teachers can attend the summer school of the University of Chicago, some Catholic educators are asking, why can we not admit qualified Negroes to our schools of higher learning and thus play our part, an important one, in shaping the destinies of our colored population?

Safeguarding Catholic Interests Throughout the Nation

CHARLES A. McMAHON

IN a previous article, it was made clear that the position of the Church in America is one of great honor, that her prestige is increasing and that a constantly growing number of thinking non-Catholics regard her teachings with the greatest respect, many of them admitting that in the application of her doctrines lies the only hope of ameliorating the present day conditions of society. It is true, they make this admission in a matter-of-fact, practical way, not realizing that it is from the Church's treasury of Divine truth that her teachers and leaders obtain the saving principles of ethics, of economics, and of social conduct that make such an appeal to the judgment of discriminating and fair-minded men.

One of the functions of the Executive Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference is to present Catholic claims—for example, the right to secure without odium sacramental wine—to public officials and leaders in public life. In four years of the most varied activities, the representatives of the N. C. W. C. have found much evidence to support the viewpoint that the great majority of non-Catholics are not positively antagonistic to Catholic interests and just Catholic claims. The experience of the

N. C. W. C. is the more remarkable because up to the year 1917 the Federal Council of Churches was the only organized Christian voice in Washington. Indeed, the Federal Council often gave the impression, whether it willed it or not, that it was the full Christian voice of the country. The N. C. W. C. is the first organized Catholic effort to avail itself of the opportunity of appearing at committee hearings on all important matters being considered before final action by Congress. It may be stated, whenever it has been necessary for N. C. W. C. representatives to appear at such hearings, they have always been heard with attention and respect. Moreover gratitude has been expressed time and again for the interest and concern manifested by the Catholic body.

The public defense and presentation of Catholic truth, therefore, constitute the principal work of the Executive Department of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Almost daily this department is called upon to treat directly with the United States Government and its numerous departments on matters that affect Catholic interests. A few outstanding incidents may be quoted. To the late President Harding was presented personally the pronouncement on disarmament issued by the Administrative Committee of the N. C. W. C. This pronouncement was a most effective instrument in helping to bring about the World Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. Representatives of the department personally interviewed the President of the United States and laid before him the Catholic position in regard to education. At the request of the President, the N. C. W. C. officials supplied information on Catholic affairs in the Philippines. The department successfully collaborated with officials of the U. S. Treasury Department in drafting regulations covering the distribution of wine for sacramental purposes. These regulations were obtained only after a year of negotiations and conferences during which many obstacles to a workable solution were overcome. The privilege of consecrating the graves of the Catholic dead of the late war buried in foreign lands was obtained from the Secretary of War. Securing for the N. C. W. C. News Bureau the privileges of the Press Galleries of the U. S. Senate and House of Representatives, protection of the rights of Catholic immigrants before the Department of Labor, the appointment of a Catholic on the International Conference on the Reduction of Armaments and on the Federal Unemployment Conference, may be noted as other typical examples of the many achievements of the Executive Department in its contact with the United States Government and its representatives.

Due to the activity of the N. C. W. C. not only the Government and its various departments, but also national organizations of every kind are now inviting Catholic expression and Catholic advice in their deliberations. It is the duty of the Executive Department to distribute requests for such participation to the various departments and to see that they are acted on. The manner of action may be

seen clearly from the fact that when the best traditions of American education were recently threatened by the attempts of reactionaries and centralizers to federalize education, every department of the N. C. W. C.—Executive, Education, Social Action, Legislation, Lay Organizations and Press—combined in harmonious and instant action and summoned in a strikingly effective way not only the Catholic, but the healthy non-Catholic opinion of the country to defeat the proposed planks.

The general defense of Catholic education, outside and beyond matters dealt with by the N. C. W. C. Department of Education, is no small part of the department's work. Publication of the "National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy (1792-1919)" to show to the Catholic body and others the century-long importance which the bishops have attached to the work of Catholic education, may be instanced as an example of the department's work in this field. The department is also called upon almost daily to answer calumnies against the Church and misrepresentations of her history and teaching by paid agitators and other propagandists.

The work of the N. C. W. C.'s Bureau of Historical Records, comes under the supervision of the Executive Department. This bureau has charge of collecting and preserving in its archives the records of the Catholic participation in the World War. Its principal task to date has been the collection of the names and service records of Catholic sailors, soldiers and marines who served America during that crisis. The bureau is attempting to show by actual names in its archives that the Catholic body was represented in the service of the United States in proportion to its percentage of the country's population. To do this will require the gathering of the names of 830,791 service men. Sixty per cent. of this total is already at hand, with hundreds of parishes yet to be reported upon. Already the records of fifteen dioceses, in hand at N. C. W. C. Headquarters, show an average of 15.3 per cent. over their respective quotas.

The department has, through its Motion Picture Bureau, done nation-wide effective work in constructive motion picture reform, and in arousing Catholic parents and others in authority to a sense of their responsibility in safeguarding the motion picture entertainment of their children. The department also maintains and directs a Pamphlet and Publication Bureau, which has published and distributed during the past four years a total of more than 6,000,000 pieces of literature.

Effective cooperation in the approval of the Holy Father for funds to relieve the suffering in Russia, Austria, Germany and the Near East has been given by the N. C. W. C. It has for some time maintained a representative on the American Relief Administration and has enjoyed the special privilege of having its representative, Rev. Edmund J. Walsh, S.J., assigned by the Holy See to direct the distribution of Papal relief in Russia. The part which the American Catholic Hierarchy and people played in

this relief has been fully explained in the N. C. W. C. pamphlet, "Papal Relief Mission in Russia."

Perhaps the department's most effective piece of work during the last year was the securing of the rescript of the testimony offered at the trial by the Soviet Government of Monsignor Butchkavitch and the important evidence that he was put to death because he was a Catholic. This evidence was circulated by the N. C. W. C. News Bureau, with far-reaching results, one of which was the refusal of the United States Government, following a protest by the N. C. W. C., to admit to this country Madame Kalenin, wife of the Soviet official who signed Monsignor Butchkavitch's death warrant.

It would be impossible in the space at hand adequately to review all the works which have been successfully carried on by this department. The survey which has been given will at least show its far flung field, its complex problems and the great possibilities it has both for offense and defense.

In a previous article reference was made to the activities of the myriad of lobbyists, propagandists and politicians operating in the nation's capital, seeking to impress their vagaries into the Constitution and laws of the land. It was stated that proposals are being made to regulate private education, morals and family life and to enact legislation that would directly and fundamentally affect the moral and spiritual life of the people. Cognizance of these conditions in State and Nation impelled the Bishops to create and organize a Department of Laws and Legislation as one of the most important branches of the National Catholic Welfare Council. Its work is closely allied with that of the N. C. W. C. Executive Department. In referring to the work of this department, Bishop Gibbons, its chairman, recently stated in a public address:

If advocates of all sorts of measures are organizing to make them nation-wide, to impress them upon the Constitution and laws of the whole country, is it not about time for us Catholic people to unite our efforts and have our influence felt at that point where the others will exert their influence, namely, the national capital?

During the past few years, the gamut of legislative proposals of import to Catholics has ranged all the way from bills of a paternalistic nature like the Sterling-Towner Bill, in which the Catholics are more or less indirectly affected, to bills of most serious and direct concern such as those dealing with taxation of Church property, supervision and inspection of Catholic schools and other Catholic institutions, marriage and divorce, Bible reading in the schools, sacramental wine, and proposals that directly touch the morals of the people.

A most important function of the department is the collection and preservation of data relative to legislative matters, State and national, and the dissemination of the same through the various departments of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Catholic press and other agencies to interested persons and organizations. In order to carry on this work effectively and with as little expense as pos-

sible, the department organized a force of volunteer correspondents in the various State capitals. These correspondents, together with the legal representatives of the Bishops in the various dioceses, have been of exceptional service in carrying on the nation-wide scrutiny of legislation affecting Catholic interests.

The department has carefully examined all existing laws either federal or State affecting the administration of Catholic schools, the taxation of Church property, the inspection of religious institutions, medical inspection of school children, divorce legislation, Bible reading, and other kindred topics. Data relative to such legislation are available to all inquirers. Following up the deliberations of State Constitutional Conventions and scrutinizing, for their possible bearing upon Catholic interests, the decisions of the United States Supreme Court and of the various Federal and State courts, constitute another important activity of this office. The department has in numerous instances been able to render valuable aid to ex-service men and to their widows or dependents relative to claims for compensation, insurance and pensions pending before the various government bureaus.

The foregoing necessarily inadequate summary of the more salient work of the N. C. W. C.'s Executive and Legislative Departments is sufficient to prove that if there were no recognized and official body in Washington, speaking for and defending Catholic interests, the Catholic cause in general would be most seriously injured. With scores of other organizations, many of them openly antagonistic to the Church, maintaining national headquarters with staff equipment and advantages far exceeding those of the N. C. W. C., the necessity of maintaining and strengthening to the highest degree of efficiency the work of the Conference must be apparent to all. The fact that during the last year, with the one exception of Oregon, practically no legislation inimical to the Church's interests was enacted by the various State assemblies, despite the many attempts by bigoted law makers to further anti-Catholic legislation, is in itself a remarkable tribute to the efforts which the N. C. W. C. has inspired throughout the nation in defense of Catholic rights.

The work of N. C. W. C.'s departments of Press, Education and Social Action will be treated in another article.

Sandalwood and Cherry Blossoms

REV. PHILIP A. TAGGART, A.F.M.

AN American priest, whose name is a household word for zeal, recently wrote in a Catholic paper about the "prosaic home missions," comparing them with the adventurous, artistic foreign missions. The youthful American is supposed to be sniffing in imagination sweet-smelling sandalwood and to be revelling among visionary cherry blossoms. Out of this scenting and visioning a vocation to the heathen is thought to spring forth. My experience, however, does not bear this out. For seven

years before I was ordained, I was a student in a foreign mission seminary where every student was an American either by birth or by citizenship. More than thirty states were represented in their number and yet I doubt if I ever heard the words sandalwood or cherry blossoms unless some of them happened to be reading a steamship "ad" out loud.

After seven years' residence among them, I can safely say that each one of the seminarians owed his vocation not to vain imaginings of a sunny land of sweet odors and beauteous flowers but to a strong desire to spread Christ's kingdom on earth. Each one firmly believed that the foreign missions offered him the best field for this endeavor and he freely offered himself to this cause. His coming was a free gift of himself; his remaining was always subject to his free choice. At any moment he was and is free to withdraw his offering. The fact that very few do withdraw from the life has often been favorably commented upon by the superiors of seminaries. The so-called adventure and glamor of the foreign missions may influence some vocations at the start but the up-'ll work and the constant restrictions of the seminary course quickly cause the adventurous spirit to get down to hard-pan or to get out.

The one big adventure in the missionary's whole life is the trip across the ocean (if he does not get seasick). If the missionary is going as far as Hongkong, that adventure is over within three weeks, a short time in which to play even in a short life. Then, begins the grind. The average student does not find the study of Latin and Greek exciting. As a rule, most normal boys look upon it as a necessary evil like castor oil; the quicker you get the thing down and the less fuss you make about it, the easier it is. Well, Latin and Greek are child's play compared with Chinese, Japanese or any other Oriental language. Many men of my acquaintance have studied Chinese daily for several years and are still unable to read a Chinese paper intelligently. Now, the first and main duty of every foreign missionary is to get down to a study of the language, and if there is anything more prosaic and less adventurous than the study of Chinese, I would like to know what it is.

Students are not usually considered nerveless, serene subjects. The mild, phlegmatic character, desirable as it may be, is not developed by study. Experienced teachers and, especially, seminary professors think of their students as so many cases of nerves. Now, there is nothing that can produce a case of nerves more quickly than the missions. The last Great War caused a woful amount of nervous tension but, considering the number engaged in that struggle and the number on the missions, I believe the nervous cases produced by each are in almost equal proportion. A man trying to acquire a difficult language in a trying climate, and a more trying people, and constantly aware of his own utter uselessness without the mastery of the language, is indeed a fit subject for a case

of nerves. Some pull through with the heaven-sent gift of a cast-iron constitution; others overcome the strain with the knowledge that "they can do all things in Him who strengtheneth them." When a man, all worn out with study or the attempt at study—for the neighbors on either side of his house are beating tin pans and yelling all day as if they were being murdered—can do much thinking about sandalwood and cherry blossoms, he is a mighty exceptional individual.

I wonder whether there is anything more prosaic than the average missionary's life. He gets up at sunrise and goes through the same routine of duties that face any priest in America, plus the visits of about fifty people who have no business to transact but who like to sit in his room and ask questions about the price of his shirt and other kindred garments. At times the routine is broken up with mission trips made on foot through a thief-ridden territory or on a boat whose main cargo is dirt and insects. During the mission trip, instead of sandalwood, he will get the odor of dead fish and live pigs; in lieu of cherry blossoms, he will have lice and fleas, and he will discover that "the yellow tint" of the Orient is made up of mud. If there is any adventure on a sampan, the fleas have it all; they, at least, have found a new and strange diet.

Of course, mission life is different in many respects from the life of the priest back home, but after you have lived in the difference a few years, it loses all its strangeness and there is nothing in it to excite your imagination but, on the contrary, a great many things to wear you down. You will be sifted by Satan like St. Peter and, unlike St. Peter, you may be found wanting.

Loneliness often gets the better of you when you realize that there is not a soul about who understands you and, what makes it harder, that there is not a soul about, who is willing even to make an effort to know you. People whose life, land and goods you have saved during attacks on the city, pass you on the street and refuse to be caught noticing you. A thousand others, whose property you may have saved, are grateful in their own way but not one of them may become a Christian. You may be continually "used" by these people and know well that you are being used and often "done" by them; all this demands that you be animated with the spirit of Christ if it is to be kept up. I wonder how many priests would like to shut themselves in their houses after sunset and never meet a friend, once it becomes dark? Yet this is the ordinary experience on the missions. In a Christian land there is some sort of a spiritual atmosphere; in a pagan land a priest has to create that atmosphere. He is the dynamo of spirituality in his section; when he stops, spirituality stops. The missionary rarely finds any storage batteries for the current among his new Christians? He must carry on a lone battle and he knows it.

There is much work to be done at home. Of course, it is God's will that home needs should always continue.

There is also work to be done in distant lands. In one of them, to quote an American Cardinal, "we are twenty years late" in doing it. There is work to be done in China and India and heaven only knows how late we are there because we have only recently begun. There is work to be done in the great empire of Japan, the cherry blossom place, and, as Americans, we have not even started there. There is work to be done in Africa. Is there any strictly American Society, are any Americans doing that work? Before we begin to bewail the loss of Americans to either Japan or Africa, had we not better send them there? Nobody ever lost what he never had. The priests of American birth in Africa and Japan could be counted on one's fingers and still there would be some fingers left when the count was finished.

By all means, protect and boost the home missions; no one has their welfare more at heart than the foreign missionary. He is truly Catholic and loves every Catholic work; he prays for its success no matter what it is. The mere fact that the work is Catholic and has the approval of the Church, is sufficient for him. It is not likely that a man who is carrying out Christ's last will and testament, "Going forth, therefore, teach all nations," will be forgetful of Christ's commands about the sheep in the home pastures. If a man with a vocation feels his India is home, the foreign missionary is only too happy to see him stay home; but if, on the other hand, a man with a vocation feels that his India is India, why will not others be just as polite as the foreign missionary and let him go to India? When all is said and done, there is no danger of so large a crop of foreign mission vocations springing up at home that the home missions will suffer; things just don't happen that way.

What Is the Sub-Conscious?

REV. E. BOYD BARRETT, S.J., M.A., Ph.D.

The second of a series of articles on the New Psychology.

IN its broad outlines the modern theory of the Sub-conscious or Unconscious is interesting, attractive, and quite in harmony with our experience of the working of our minds. Further as we shall see, it is altogether Scholastic in its tendency, leading inevitably to the recognition of spiritual substantiality of the soul.

It tells us that there are processes and activities which go on in us without our being aware of them. It points to the existence of influences, from emotional and instinctive sources and from forgotten experiences that affect our conduct, our feelings, and our views, and that remain outside our knowledge or conscious control. It indicates the existence within us of unconscious effort, something very like the will, which *resists certain* lines of action and forwards others. Lastly the theory, using the words "repression," "censor," "complex," in a figurative way, describes how some memories are driven down or "repressed," so that they can no longer be recalled to mind

at will, by a process called "censorship," and how, while thus hidden away, they still may (as "complexes") exercise a harmful influence.

In order to show that this theory in its broad outlines (we do not pretend to approve of the many nonsensical details introduced into it by popularizers), is quite in harmony with experience, and Scholastic in tendency, it will be necessary to adduce certain facts by way of evidence, first of all, as regards the existence of mental processes of which we are unaware, and which we cannot introspect.

Scholastic psychology has always taught that in the formation of universal ideas the active aspect of the intellect (*intellectus agens*) performs functions antecedent to the idea coming into consciousness. Of such mental activity we remain totally unaware. The *species* and instincts of the Scholastics are clearly unconscious activities. "Awareness is not co-extensive with the mind," wrote Aquinas. Next, let us take what happens in a free choice, say of an apple in place of an orange. I can, through introspection, follow much of the play of motives, *pro* and *con*, and even pursue the mind up to the brink of the choice-act. But there introspection fails me. I find a blank. And, lo! the choice is made. This means that the last act, so to speak, "the reaching out of the will," which is most certainly an activity of the soul, occurs without my seeing it or being aware of it at that point of time. I only know afterwards that it has.

If we turn to the processes of perception, we have abundant evidence that such processes may be unconscious. Most surprising of all, perhaps, is the complex system of experiences that may be inferred to antecede even ordinary tactual localization, although to become aware of them by introspection would appear to be a hopeless enterprise.

Apart from the evidence already adduced as to the existence of "unconscious processes" in the mind, let us briefly summarize sources of further evidence. "Instinctive" likes, dislikes, and impulses, problem-solving and constructive work done in sleep; post-hypnotic suggestion phenomena; intuitions; sudden witticisms, symptomatic acts when asleep or awake; the sending and receiving of telepathic messages; sudden brilliant ideas or inventions; all these "phenomena" in careful analysis will betray the fact that *there is a working in the depths of the mind, outside our control, and unknown to our consciousness*. There is a further mass of evidence adduced from pathology, and from the interesting cases of planchette writing described by Morton Prince in his book, "The Unconscious."

Prof. James defines the soul as "the total stream of our conscious states." Scholastic psychology has always pointed out the incompleteness and falseness of such definitions, which fail to describe the soul as a spiritual substance, underlying conscious states. For the moment we only wish to point out that, whereas the theory of "unconscious mental processes" is perfectly reconcilable with

the Scholastic definition of the soul, it is absolutely irreconcilable with those of James and others. Indeed, the theory of the unconscious leads directly to Scholasticism. It is quite wrong then to regard our psychology as incompatible with or hostile to this theory. As Father M. Maher, S.J., pointed out:

Provided it be recognized that no composition, amalgamation, or coalescence of unconscious units can constitute a conscious state, we do not see any conclusive reason for denying the reality of unconscious activities of the human mind. Furthermore, adopting the aristotelico-scholastic theory that the soul is a substantial principle at once the source of vegetative, sentient, and rational life, *this view seems to be forced upon us*. Latent modification of the mind *must be admitted* at least as dispositions, habits, or *species impressae*, to account for the possibility of recognition and ordinary knowledge.

In order to illustrate in more detail how the theory of the sub-conscious is quite in keeping with the results of introspective experiences, and to confirm our thesis that it is quite in harmony with the spirit of Catholic psychology, we shall now turn to the writings of St. Augustine, whose acute mind was pre-occupied with the inner workings of the soul. We shall find further that he anticipated many of the "discoveries" of the New Psychology. The passage is in his "Confessions," Book X, Chapter VIII:

And I enter the broad fields and vast palaces of my memory where there are the treasures of countless impressions imported into it from all sorts of sensible objects. There is laid up every reflection we make, every enlargement, diminution or variation of those things which the senses have attained to, and which oblivion hath not absorbed and buried. When I am there I ask what I will to be produced, and some things instantly present themselves; others are long in coming and have to be drawn out as it were from more secret recesses. Some rush forward in crowds, and while one thing is sought for, they spring into the midst as if saying, "Perhaps you want me?" And I brush them with the hand of my heart from the face of my memory, until what I want comes forth to vie and stands out cloudless from its hiding place. Other things are suggested easily and in unbroken order, as they are sought for, those which come first yielding to those which follow, and having thus given place, retire again to come when I shall wish. And all this takes place when I relate a thing from memory.

In this very vivid description of the normal process of memory St. Augustine touches on many of those mysterious aspects of the mind's workings that modern psychologists inquire into. There is first "the storing up" of memories. How and where are they stored? Is it in the form of "neurograms?" Then there is an unwillingness on the part of some memories to come forward. What is the meaning of this "resistance?" What are the "more secret recesses?" Have the memories, to borrow a modern phrase, been "repressed and driven down" into regions less attainable to consciousness, from which they must be drawn up by a special method, "others are longer in coming and have to be drawn out, as it were, from more secret recesses?" Then St. Augustine refers to the brushing away of unwanted memories and the selecting of the wanted ones. These are mind processes that function without deliberate di-

rection. In all the comings and goings of the memories there is an obvious dynamism. The memories are not like the dead pages of a book that are turned over one after another, but "they spring into the midst as if saying, 'perhaps you want me?'" and "those which come first yield to those which follow." By what mental process is this order maintained? It is not a process that one is aware or conscious of—it is an unconscious process—a hidden activity of the mind. In fine, in St. Augustine's description we see clearly that memory implies mental work; bringing things up, driving things back, selecting, searching, etc. And the greater part of this mental work is not only indeliberate but unconscious. Elsewhere St. Augustine emphasises the presence in the memory of things forgotten.

It is interesting to see how St. Augustine anticipated the view-point of modern descriptive psychology and the methods of drawing or digging out memories from the unconscious by suggestion and association-tests. He knows too that his language is figurative and metaphorical, but he has no option but to describe things as he does. Now the memory is for him "a vast hall," "a treasure house," now "the very belly of the mind." "It is ridiculous," he says, "to make such comparisons, yet these things are not wholly unlike." Perhaps, we should learn the lesson of not being too severe on the metaphorical descriptions employed by modern psychologists!

One of the theories of the New Psychology is that there is a kind of "unconscious will," a control process which functions without our being aware of it. This control-process has been called "the censor" by Freudians. We shall refer to it later on. Curiously enough, St. Augustine seems to have held a similar theory, to which he refers in writing about dreams. Even though asleep, we can make a resistance, or give a kind of consent, "very like reality."

There live in my memory the images of such things as my habits have fixed there; and these rise up before me, lacking indeed their old power when I am awake; but in sleep they present themselves not only so far as to call forth pleasure but also consent, and very like reality. . . . Where, then, is the reason which resists such suggestions when I am awake? Is it then closed with the eyes? Is it lulled to sleep, with the senses of the body? But how is it, then, in sleep we often resist, and mindful of our resolution, give no assent to such allurements?

St. Augustine was evidently preoccupied with these unconscious mental processes. He prays that he may not be led "even unconsciously," "into consenting to an evil thought." He marvels at what modern psychologists would describe as phases of double-personality. "Am I not at that time myself, in the moment when I pass from waking to sleeping, or return from sleeping to waking?"

It would be possible to give many other quotations and references from St. Bernard, Bossuet, St. Teresa and others, to show how clearly the great Catholic ascetics and philosophers appreciated the phenomena of those depths of the soul that modern writers call the unconscious. Catholic writers, as we have said, were not preoccupied

about scientifically defining the scope, modes of action, or effects of sub-conscious mental processes, but they did not ignore their existence. In many ways they anticipated the "discoveries" of the moderns, while avoiding the mistakes and extravagances into which the latter have fallen.

To sum up, it seems in accord with experience, with Scholastic theory, and with Catholic asceticism, to admit the existence of mind processes, both conceptual and perceptual, which occur without our being aware of their occurrence. Further it seems reasonable to admit that some forgotten experiences continue to exercise an influence upon our views, feelings, and conduct, and upon our mental processes. Some of these forgotten experiences, called in this case "complexes" seem to exercise a baneful influence upon the workings of the mind, and to originate mental troubles or psycho-neuroses. In fine, it would seem, that in broad outline the modern theory of the unconscious is perfectly acceptable.

Bergson, a few years ago, ventured upon the following prophesy. "To explore the most sacred depths of the unconscious, to labor in what I have just called the sub-soil of consciousness; that will be the principal task of psychology in the century which is opening." This anticipation is likely to prove correct, and it should be a source of joy to Catholics and Scholastics, for the study of sub-conscious mental processes must lead honest investigators to recognize the spirituality and substantiality of the soul, which such processes necessarily postulate.

Two Aims in Coal Reorganization

R. A. McGOWAN

THE anthracite industry is a tidy profiteering monopoly. The bituminous industry is a sprawling, shiftless, gluttonous giant. Both exploit the consumer, the one through compact organized power and the other through chaotic wasteful competition. The anthracite monopolists so arrange things that the consumers pay too much for an insufficient supply of coal. The bituminous operators so disarrange things that the consumers pay too much for coal which is wastefully mined and wastefully prepared for use.

The consumers need an adequate supply of coal. They want it efficiently mined, for the coal God gave us should not be wasted nor the fuel we use cost too much. There are better ways of preparing coal for use and they want these methods developed and adopted. They want this service constantly. They do not wish their coal supply and their peace of mind cut short by strikes and quarrels in the industry. They do not want democracy, justice and honor degraded by such outbursts as that of Herrin or by such steady denials of public decency as that in southern West Virginia.

Yet they are not organized to protect themselves in any of these matters. They are not organized to insist that they be given the quantity and quality of coal they need

at a reasonable price. They are not organized to bring pressure upon a divided, quarrelsome fighting industry. They are nearly completely at the mercy of the operators and miners.

The miners in the anthracite section of the industry are strongly unionized. Their material conditions are now such that they have attained a reasonable minimum standard. The bituminous miners are 60% in the union. Where organized their daily wage is satisfactory, but they cannot work more than an average of about four days a week. Where unorganized their wages are at no time higher than the organized and are much lower when industrial depression sets in and the demand for labor declines. The unorganized are hindered from joining the union by the economic power of the operators and more especially by the help which the operators have secured from State and local officials and the federal judiciary. Coal miners range from a state of gross subjection in some bituminous fields to a condition in the anthracite and the rest of the bituminous industry where they are strong enough to compromise with the operators after an ordeal of publicity and strikes.

The reason for the serfdom on the one hand and the strikes on the other is the same. The operators and miners are at cross purposes about how the returns of the industry are to be divided. One set of men own and manage the industry and take all the profits. Another set of men get jobs from the owners. One set buys labor; the other set sells labor. In the case of the serfdom those who buy labor are in control. In the case of the strikes those who sell labor have organized to contest part of the control of the owners and have become strong enough to force the owners to compromise. In either case the industry is divided—divided and disgruntled in time of peace, and divided dramatically and bitterly in time of strikes.

Not only are they divided over those matters in which their interests are opposed; even when the interests are identical the two groups are not organized to care for them jointly. It is partly to the interest of both owners and employes that enough coal of good quality be efficiently mined. But the owners take all the responsibility for managing the industry. They hold the men at arm's length in the daily conduct of the business. The miners are not allowed to express their ideas about how the industry as a whole or the single mine or company should be conducted. They can talk among themselves or write a piece for the paper. But they and the owners are not organized so that the miners' suggestions can have a hearing, not to speak of an organization in which the miners might put real power behind their suggestions.

The spirit of the industry is unhealthy and un-Christian. The consumers pay too much for anthracite coal and do not get sufficient quantities of it. They pay too much for bituminous coal, over one-third of it is wasted in the mining, and it is wastefully furnished them. The

labor relations are disgraceful throughout, all the way from the submerged among the unorganized to the embattled and embittered among the organized. They stand as mere wage-hands sharing neither in the management of the industry, nor in its profits, nor in its ownership. The feelings all this engenders in men who believe in democracy and whose ideal is Christian brotherhood frequently break the walls of their mind and the storm that follows carries suffering and humiliation to us all.

But we are an elastic people and we bob up smiling. Perhaps we say: "Let's do something," and then relapse immediately into coma. At other times we think that at least we ought to delegate someone to find out all the inner workings of the two branches of the industry and expose the whole thing in the hope that the facts will bring down such ignominy upon all and sundry that they will straightway reform. Again we say that the whole industry should be drastically regulated or mildly regulated by an interstate coal commission. We hurl sometimes a few threats at striking miners for making our furnaces and stoves burn low and we talk heatedly of conspiracy charges and the strong arm of the law and Government seizure of the mines, if it should ever happen again. A voice urges the consumers to organize the distribution of coal and ultimately the whole coal mining industry. Another voice urges the gradual purchase and elimination of capital stock through profit-sharing so that a federation or amalgamation of coal guilds of working owners will come to control the industry. More insistent voices call for Government ownership and with Government control and direction, and immediate management by all those in the industry. Still others urge us to tax the coal land owners to the full annual value of their land and then let nature take its course.

Meanwhile our policy is four policies: Doing nothing, intermittent watchful waiting, excoriation of the guilty, and stumbling over details. The most that can be expected for a while is mild regulation. Sometime, though, we will set to work in earnest. When we do come to reorganize the industry and not merely grow fretful about it or tinker with it, we shall have to take into consideration ways and means of realizing two facts. The consumers must be assured power enough over the industry so that the coal supply will be cared for properly, and so that their needs will be met at a reasonable price. Moreover, those in the industry must be given sufficient freedom of action and sufficient rewards to encourage in them a high physical, mental, and moral standard, and give the consumers the service required. A compromise must be reached between consumers' control and producers' control. The satisfaction of the needs of both becomes the test of a sound reorganization of the coal industry.

The first step towards correcting the evil is to insist that the rights of the community shall prevail. . . . In the later Middle Ages the prevailing economic system was such that the workers were gradually obtaining a larger share in the ownership of the lands upon which, and the tools with which, they labored. Though the

economic arrangements of that time cannot be restored, the underlying principle is of permanent application and is the only one that will give stability to industrial society.

These two quotations are from the Pastoral Letter of the American Hierarchy. The first states the paramount right of the community. In the case of coal the whole community is directly or indirectly the consumer of coal. The second indicates that producers' control can best be assured through an application of workers' ownership as practised in the Middle Ages. By an application of the principle of workers' ownership is meant an application of the principle that all or nearly all those at work in the industry from the executive force to the laborers should share in some way in the ownership of the mines.

To secure its paramount rights over coal, the public need not manage the industry. Indeed, the public cannot manage it as efficiently as those at work in the industry itself. Ordinarily it will be enough to give the public a certain directive power and a certain partnership with those actively at work mining coal. In the case of bituminous coal the directive power of the public must be exercised a little more insistently, for fear that even after the reorganization the selfish interests of those in the industry will slow up the immense savings that can be realized in the mining and preparation of the product. The present soft coal production can be furnished with three-fourths of the mines we now have, even if the storing and marketing of coal were not regularized. Should mining become a steady year-round industry we could close up two-fifths of the bituminous mines. Moreover, about two-fifths as much soft coal is wasted as is mined. In addition, the development of super-power projects for the generation of electricity depends largely upon arrangements with the soft coal industry. The preparation of other forms of fuel from raw coal and the manufacture of by-products will make another great saving. These matters must be cared for in the public interest and under the reorganization the public must be given power in the direction of the industry to see that they are accomplished.

Yet the men in the industry must share in the management. They must have a certain freedom of action; otherwise they will not work well. The red tape of Government management and the heavy hand of bureaucratic automatons will not give the consumers the best service. By reason of the very necessities of the case the consumers must rely for service upon those in the industry, and they cannot get this service without trusting the miners and managers with a large liberty of joint action in the management of the job of mining coal. The miners must be included through their representatives in the management of coal, not only because they know enough to be so represented, but also because otherwise they will be dissatisfied. It is their job and they will not be content with perpetual exile from responsibility.

It follows also that those in the industry, besides re-

ceiving regular wages and salaries to meet their living needs and comforts and reward them in part for their work, should be given an amount in addition which would vary with the long term varying results of the industry. Under the reorganization if the men who manage the industry and man the mines know that the benefits which come from more intelligent and more effective work will go wholly to the public they will not work so well. Extreme idealists to the contrary, men work better if special rewards are given them.

These two elements, the managing of the mines and the sharing in their varying returns, are two elements in ownership. If the rank and file and the present executive force join together in the management of the mines and if they share in the varying returns they will possess two qualities of ownership. Even if nothing further were allowed them an application of workers' ownership would be made to the coal industry.

Yet the whole matter is still complicated. What sort of reorganization will meet these two demands—the right of the public to a steady supply of coal at a reasonable price and an application of the principle of workers' ownership? Who shall possess the title of ownership? How shall the public exercise its authority? How shall the coal industry be organized so that the rank and file can share in the management? To what extent will they share in it? What method shall be followed to divide the varying returns (which correspond to what are now profits)? These are questions of major importance. Yet it should not be impossible to answer them approximately if the two chief and fundamental points are once accepted.

COMMUNICATIONS

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Twin Cities' School of Social Studies

To the Editor of AMERICA:

Your readers will doubtless be interested to know that a new prospectus of the Twin Cities' School of Social Studies is ready for distribution and will be found to measure up to the original ideal of this School of Social Studies which, in the words of Archbishop Dowling, represents "an earnest attempt to develop a spirit of inquiry and of study among Catholic men and women."

Through last year's notice in your valued paper, we received enrolments from many parts of the country, and are encouraged in the belief that widespread publicity this year will bring returns that will permit an enlargement of activities. The program of courses includes public speaking, popular psychology, civics, economics, Church history, ethics, apologetics, parliamentary law and debates, the Bible, and advanced public speaking.

All lectures in the various courses will be printed and distributed to enrolled students. We hope this year that enrolments will be sufficiently numerous to warrant the printing of the lectures in a form that will enable us to have them bound in distinctive bindings, so that a complete library of social study topics may eventually be built up. Manuscript copies of any course will be mailed to non-residents. For terms and particulars kindly inquire of the writer of this letter, P. O. Box 502, St. Paul, Minn., whose function is that of executive secretary.

St. Paul.

P. W. O'GRADY.

AMERICA

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The A. F. L. on State Control

WHATEVER views may be entertained of the real usefulness to labor and to the public of the American Federation of Labor, it is pleasant to note that several of the resolutions which the Federation has adopted at the Portland convention are characterized by a largeness of view and a sturdy sound sense which promise well for the future. Some years ago, the resolutions of the Montreal convention appeared to commit the Federation to a policy of Governmental control which, in the judgment of many, directly paved the way to a system of State socialism. That this position has been abandoned seems clear from the following resolution adopted at the Portland convention:

The largest freedom of action, the freest play of individual initiative and genius in industry cannot be had under the shadow of constant incompetent political interference, meddlesomeness and restrictions . . . The threat of State invasion of industrial life is real . . . The continuing clamor for the extension of the State regulatory powers, under the guise of reform and deliverance from evil, can but lead into greater confusion and more hopeless entanglements.

Undoubtedly the Federation is correct in holding that State invasion of industry would probably be characterized by a "meddlesomeness" which could lead only to worse disorder. It is generally agreed that as much freedom as is possible should be left to individual initiative, and resourcefulness; it is also admitted that the State should intervene only when such action is necessary to preserve the common weal and the good of the parties involved in private enterprise. The principles are clear, but it is rarely easy to decide when and how far individual liberty should yield to the demands of the public weal; indeed, the fundamental problem of all human government is to be found in the attempt to reconcile liberty with law, saving the due place of each.

As a demand popular at the present moment seems to insist upon a larger degree of State control than is compatible with the interests either of capital or of labor, the Federation has done well to point out the dangers of this movement. But it is to be regretted, especially since the present convention was held in Oregon, that the Federation did not single out as an extreme example of State interference with legitimate enterprises the Oregon law which proposes to deprive parents of their natural right to control the education of their children. If the State may destroy that right, can any right, either of labor or of the individual, be considered sacred?

Overalls and Silken Garments

SPEAKING at a public meeting in Kansas City, Mr. W. L. Harding, formerly Governor of Iowa, accused his fellow-citizens of two bad habits. "The first is the habit of enacting new laws. The second is the habit of going into debt." Perhaps the connection between the two is somewhat closer than Mr. Harding cared to indicate. Of ten new laws, probably four carry an appropriation. This appropriation, as many of our fellow-citizens have yet to learn, does not spring up spontaneously from the ground. It is extracted from the pocket of the taxpayer. No Government, whether it be represented by the benign figure of Uncle Sam or that of a bearded Czar with a knout in his hand, pays the appropriations which it authorizes. The people pay them, either directly as taxes, or indirectly in an increased cost of living. Until Americans learn this very elementary truth, we shall probably continue in our orgy of law-making and our subsequent expenditure of funds.

The second bad habit, however, touches many of us far more closely. Mr. Micawber, made wise through sad experience, tells us that while the annual expenditure of one penny beyond our income means misery and woe, a very comfortable degree of well-being can be assured by expending a sum one penny less than our yearly income. Mr. Micawber did but state in a balanced sentence the experience of centuries, yet we Americans have failed to realize that we are not exempt from the working of this natural law. Daily we create new necessities and at the present moment the luxuries of our grandfathers, alcoholic liquors always excepted, are numbered with those ordinary requirements, for want of which we suffer. The one thought to which the learned Einstein was willing to give utterance when asked his impressions of New York, was that our shop-girls dressed like countesses. One need not be an observer endowed with faculties unusually keen, to note that many of us whose incomes are wholly plebeian, affect the appanage of princesses and the pomp of belted earls. It is true, perhaps, that every American is an uncrowned king, but if he is wise he will consult his pocket-book before he puts on the trappings of royalty. If he does not, he will, sooner or later, assume the sable trappings of economic woe.

Undoubtedly we have our sore economic and social problems today, but many of them could be solved by the use of a little common sense. In several large Eastern cities, the billboards are lurid with announcements of a plan which will enable our uncrowned kings and queens to obtain a real automobile by paying ten dollars down and thereafter five dollars weekly. The insanity of extravagance could hardly go further. Ten dollars down and five dollars paid weekly into a good savings-bank mean a competence for a rainy day, but the man who goes into debt to buy an automobile is headed for economic destruction. Were we content to wear overalls instead of silk, we should save the specialists the gallons of midnight oil now burned by them while devising family budgets, and secure ourselves from many an hour of misery and dependence.

Governor Pinchot's New Problem

THAT almost anything may happen in Pennsylvania is the creed of many a virtuous citizen who has never left the rude hamlet of his fathers to tarry within the boundaries of the historic Commonwealth. This creed was well nigh justified when, with a simplicity so utterly charming that it disarmed criticism, the authorities ordered the saloons closed during the troubled days when a strike of the coal miners was threatened. This frankness at once destroyed the belief, cherished since the passage of the Volstead act, that there were no saloons, either in Pennsylvania or in any State of the Union. Forbidden by the law of the land, it was taken for granted that they were totally non-existent. Yet some weeks ago the Philadelphia newspapers published the addresses of nearly 1,300 of these establishments, all driving an excellent trade in the godly city made famous by William Penn and Evangeline. Aroused by this lawlessness, Governor Pinchot has ordered these establishments closed, and announces his intention of cooperating with the Federal officers to keep them closed.

Whether this commendable activity will be crowned with lasting success is questionable. There can be no doubt that the publican who bitterly arraigned the officers of the law for interfering with his means of livelihood, was acting according to his honest understanding of the situation, for in his trade he saw no evil which did not attach with equal tenacity to the business of the green-grocer at the neighboring corner. This disturbed publican, railing at the prohibition officials, exemplifies an attitude toward the Volstead act which is quite common. Many an upright citizen looks upon this legislation as an excellent means of shielding his neighbor from the deadly sin of drinking beer. As to himself, the case differs essentially, and there is no reason in right or conscience why he should not refresh himself occasionally and in moderation, with a beverage containing an amount of alcohol in excess of one-half of one per cent. But, as is usual, the public peace suffers when your decent

citizen considers that the law refers not to himself but to his neighbor, and not even to him except under compulsion.

Governor Pinchot has vindicated his right to be held a brave and adventurous official. The country will follow his course with interest, anxious to learn whether he can enforce the Volstead act by any means short of enrolling half the citizens of Pennsylvania to watch the other half, and of calling upon the Federal Government to keep watch and ward over all of them. The Governor has a new problem, and he may succeed in solving it. But if he does, it will not be in virtue of any method hitherto applied. While it may be possible to enforce legislation which does not add to the prohibitions contained in the Eighteenth Amendment, it is quite impossible to enforce the existing prohibition legislation without wrecking almost all the guarantees of liberty set forth in the first ten amendments.

Marriage and Paganism

THERE was a time when the periodical announcement of divorce statistics gave a periodical shock to our Christian fellow citizens. All were more or less inclined to moralize deeply on the rapid disintegration of the country, and to wonder "what we were coming to," as the ratio of divorces to marriages rose from one divorce in every fifteen marriages, to one in every ten, one in nine, one in eight. The recent announcement, however, by Census Bureau's marriage and divorce survey, that one out of every 7.6 marriages ends in divorce, passed almost without notice. Is it because once having admitted that divorce is against no law of God or man, people are now coming to think it a normal condition of our common life? Having accepted divorce as a remedy for marriage failures, are we preparing to view with calmness the time when both sides of that ominous ratio will be practically equal, with every marriage ending in divorce? There are not wanting signs that not only in results, but even in men's minds, the old Christian idea of marriage is giving way to the older pagan view of it. The figures are bad enough. The acceptance of the figures is a symptom of worse. It is an apostasy, more or less conscious, from the Divine commands of Christ Himself.

An article by Mrs. Katherine Fullerton Gerould in the current *Atlantic Monthly* is an apt illustration of this point. There is of course the usual misunderstanding of the Christian position which she undertakes to refute, the old game of setting up a stuffed dummy which hardly resembles the original; a careless flinging about of facts of Christian dogma, which is not justified by the superfluous preface that the author is "no theologian." In particular Mrs. Gerould's remarks on the Catholic ascetic ideal are confused in the extreme, like a country landscape seen through some flaw in the window pane. But however hazy is her conception of Christianity, there is no haziness in her attitude toward marriage, and it is only

mentioned here because it is so entirely typical of some current thought. In this ideal there is nothing higher than the possession of "happiness," and the text of the sermon is taken from—the Declaration of Independence, the right of every human to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." One is acutely conscious of how very un-American it is to uphold the indissolubility of marriage. As a matter of fact, however, the happiness these people have in mind is one that has its beginning and end in something that is material, earthy, pagan. Such "happiness" is to outweigh every human and Divine moral law. As if any two people that ever lived were entirely "compatible," as if they did not have to make themselves compatible, by the mutual give and take of Christian love.

It was in recognition of this basic fact of human nature and human relations that Christ raised the contract of marriage to a Sacrament. This Christian law is not a panacea for unhappiness in wedlock. It recognizes that unhappiness is almost inevitable between two human creatures living together, and recognizing it, provides a remedy for it in the Sacrament, the visible sign of the interior help God gives to overcome unhappiness. The denial of the Christian law is another example of that practical atheism that denies God ever gave an authoritative witness for his Revelation or indeed that He ever did or could give a Revelation. The Church in promulgating the law only repeats the words of Christ: "And he that shall marry her that is put away committeth adultery."

The Needy Student

IT is the boast of nearly every American college that the needy student will never be denied the opportunity for an education. No matter how small his financial resources he will be given a chance. Time and again colleges point with pride to the distinguished alumnus who

was the needy student while within academic walls. Yet the student financially handicapped is often not the needy student at all.

For the needy student falls into various classes like the distinguished citizen, and the most needy student in fact is the youth who has too much money. Unless money has been in his family for several generations he is handicapped in his educational venture from the start. He comes from a home that may be in the first flush of newly acquired wealth, and such a home is a sorry sight. There is the greatest plenty amid the greatest need. Business, finance, social ambition reign there, and little of spiritual or mental ambition; a father absorbed in the great American rush for dollars, a mother keen in the hunt of social climbing. What chance has a youth to benefit at college who comes from such a home? What chance has a college to do its best by such a boy?

Fortunately there are not many such homes nominally Catholic, and the Catholic college is not called on so often to combat their baneful influence. It is from such homes that the non-Catholic college recruits its Catholic students in large numbers. For these homes look on education as something that can be bought, like Persian rugs and motor cars. "Why, a degree from Mammon University will mean so much in the boy's future." The price of course of the coveted degree may be loss of Faith, and invariably is weakened Faith. That tragic truth does not affect the outlook of the newly-rich home. For its atmosphere is a tainted atmosphere where the bright light of Catholicity has grown dim. The boy from such a home is in truth the needy student in the Catholic sense. Lacking the background that is essential for education his mind is shallow and his heart is wrong. He deserves our pity, for he is not entirely to blame. It is not he that needs an education. It is his home that needs it.

Literature

William Hazlitt

WILLIAM HAZLITT, painter, critic and essayist, was born in 1778 in Maidstone, Kent. His father was an Irish Presbyterian with singular independence of spirit, for he became a Unitarian minister and emigrated with his family to America through sympathy with the cause of the colonies in the war of the Revolution. Although William passed the early years of his infancy in Philadelphia, he received his education in England whither the family returned after a few years' absence. In Wem, Shropshire, the boy grew up, and later was sent to Hackney College, London, to study for the ministry. His real interests, however, were divided between painting and

metaphysics until the memorable visit of Coleridge in 1798 set his mind aflame with the fire of his poetic genius. His further association with Coleridge at Netherstowey, and his meeting with Wordsworth at Alforden turned his thoughts in the direction of literature. Hazlitt's subsequent sojourn in Paris in 1802-3 for the purpose of copying pictures in the Louvre, was a twin influence that helped to shape his future development. It sealed his devotion to the French Revolution, and to the cause of popular government. Thenceforth, Napoleon as the liberator of the people was to be the god of his idolatry, and the divine right of kings the object of his special aversion. On his return to England, failing in his ambitions as a

portrait-painter, he entered the circle of Leigh Hunt and Lamb, and began his career as journalist and lecturer. As a contributor to Hunt's *Examiner*, Hazlitt because of his radical republicanism incurred the virulent animosity of the Tory reviews, the *Quarterly* and *Blackwoods*, which poisoned the springs of his happiness. His marriage with Sarah Stoddart in 1807, although unhappy, had its compensations, in as much as it introduced him to the hamlet of Winterslow which was henceforth a refuge from strife where, amid the solace of the woods and wolds, he could write his charming miscellaneous essays. Meantime he acted as dramatic critic and as reporter in the House of Commons. He resided for the most part in London where he enjoyed the amenities of social life at Southampton Coffee-House. He frequented the picture-galleries, theatres, the Fives-court and the prize-ring, and engaged in his work as a literary miniaturist of poets, painters, actors and politicians. After a journey to France and Italy, of which he left an interesting record, he died in Soho, unfriended save for Charles Lamb, in the year 1830. "Well! I've had a happy life," were the last words to which he gave utterance.

The best description of Hazlitt is that given by his friend Talfourd. In appearance he was "of the middle size, with a handsome and eager countenance, worn by sickness and thought, and with dark hair which curled stiffly over the temples. His gait was slouching and awkward and his dress neglected." He was shy and aloof in manner, maladroit in his conduct of life, willful and uncompromising to a degree with a devotion to principle that was unexceptionable. Intensity and sensibility seem to have been the dominant notes of his character as revealed to us in his essays. In these he presents the impression of a lonely figure, curiously at odds with life, loyal to his friends and inflexible to his enemies; a man of sentiment who consciously relished his emotions, living over in retrospect the golden moments of the past; a metaphysician who quested the principles of human action; a connoisseur of the arts who glorified Titian, Raphael, Claude, Poussin and Rembrandt; a critic of the drama who signalized Edmund Kean and Mrs. Siddons; a book-man with a cult of the old authors; a lover of life interested in men of affairs and the heroes of "the Fancy." In this last predilection, as well as in his vagabond passion for nature, "Sun, moon and stars, and the wind on the heath," he offers a remarkable parallel with George Borrow. For a knowledge of his personality one has but to turn at will the pages of his essays, notably "On living to oneself," "Whether genius is conscious of its powers," and "A farewell to essay-writing" wherein his affinities with Hamlet prompt complete self-disclosure.

Hazlitt's Winterslow cameos depict the Dreamthorp where his restless spirit felt most at home. Here, like Cowper at Olney, he would wander by the sedgy banks of the Avon, or lose himself in the forests, alive to every natural sight and sound. Again he would waste some

sullen day by the fireside, writing in his free, flowing hand on a quire of foolscap the *causeries* in which he fixed in words his fleeting impressions of life and art. Or, in moods of disillusionment, he would vent his grievance with the world, and confess his sense of frustration: "Thought has in me conquered pleasure; and this dark forehead bent upon truth, is the rock on which all affection has split." And as he lifted his eyes from the page he would pen a landscape sketch which is today as vivid as when it was written.

Hazlitt has been called the prince of critics. His conception of the nature of poetry; his feeling for the genius of Chaucer and Spenser, of Shakespeare and Milton, of Dryden and Pope; his appreciation of the comic writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, and his series of contemporary portraits in "The Spirit of the Age" amply justify the characterization. Into his judgment of his contemporaries his personal feelings enter, and at times blur the impression but it is pleasant to know that he loved Burke's speeches, Wordsworth's poems, and Walter Scott's novels despite political differences. Today when we test his critiques of Wordsworth, Coleridge, Byron, Moore, Bentham, Cobbett in the light of later times we must needs recognize the accuracy of his estimates.

As a miscellaneous essayist he has eclipsed all who have written since his day. Charles Lamb, of course, is in a class apart, but beside him Leigh Hunt is trivial and dilettantish, De Quincey wordy and wire-drawn, Thackeray frankly garrulous, and Stevenson finical and mannered. Where now do we find such masculine vigor of thought with interludes of lyricism, such a *copia fandi*, such range and compass of ideas expressed in the sinewy English of current speech? He is of the lineage of Montaigne, and develops the traditions of the eighteenth-century essayists. Life, its passions, sentiments, arts, graces, politics, manners, morals are to him the things of moment, and it would be false to conceive of him as a bookman to whom the human scene did not much appeal. One has but to read these discursive essays on men and things to feel the impulsion of varied interest whether it be some passion of the intellect, issue of government, trait of conduct, or beauty of nature and life imaged in paint or letters. *Quidquid agunt homines* was the concern of this inquiring student of human nature who loved to analyze behavior and character, and to probe mind and motive to their innermost recesses. Hazlitt had many grave defects of character, but he had many countervailing qualities. He was, no doubt, contentious and embittered. Had he not been hounded into poverty by the defamation of a mercenary press? But truth and justice seem ever to have been the goal of his aspirations. It remained for the chivalrous pen of Louise Imogen Guiney, who glorified his genius in "A Little English Gallery," fittingly to celebrate his memory.

FLORENCE MOYNIHAN.

A WAVE

A wave, a lovely thing,
Buds on the deep and blossoms on the shore,
A moving, fleeting flower, that runs to fling
Its savor of sweet spray: as clean and hoar
As alpen flowers on sunny peaks that cling
This sudden-blooming lily of the sea
That withers in its white maturity!

EDWARD F. GARESCHÉ, S.J.

REVIEWS

Three Centuries of American Democracy. By WILLIAM MACDONALD. New York: Henry Holt and Company.

This is a book of value. In the brief space of three hundred and six pages, Mr. MacDonald has told us the complete story of our country. The "main facts and the formative influences in the growth of the United States as a democratic nation," are placed before us with a simplicity, a directness and a charm that is irresistible. It might fittingly be called an epitome of Bryce's classic, "The American Commonwealth." Indeed, it covers a wider field than Bryce's work, for it tells the tale down to our own day. The calmness, sagacity and brevity with which Mr. MacDonald relates America's attitude towards the League of Nations is particularly happy. And his concluding chapter, "Politics and the American Mind," discloses a spirit, and predicts a future for America that is, as he claims it to be, "generous, buoyant and free." A bibliography, giving a splendid list of authorities consulted, and a chronology are inserted at the close of the book. The style of his writing is of a very high order, and the author merits not only our praise but our gratitude. M. J. S.

Building the American Nation. An Essay of Interpretation. By NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$2.50.

With the topic of American historical writing still in its throes this book should be welcomed for its clear synthetic presentation of the great outstanding events in our national development. President Nicholas Murray Butler is among the first, we believe, to solve successfully the important problem of perspective in this respect. He makes the Constitution stand in proper relief as our one dominant achievement, yet represents it as resting solidly, for support, on the shoulders of Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Jefferson, Marshall, Webster, Jackson and Lincoln; giant figures all, who in the author's pages are seen as so many caryatides, embracing in their respective characters and persons the sustaining principles that render our national existence one of the singular events of history. Perhaps the most striking passages in the book are those dealing with Calhoun's endeavors to take advantage of the weaknesses apparently introduced into the constitutional structure by the earlier democratic leaders. Like another Samson, he appears pulling and straining at the pillars only to make clear in the end, however, that it was not a pagan temple of Dagon, he thus strove to bring down about his ears. Jackson's famous toast, consecrating it anew to the spirit of union, was to prove more effective than the Carolinian's ruthless logic, founded, as this was, in bad metaphysics. The author, be it noted, missed this last point and hence lays himself open to the one bit of adverse criticism we have to make. Misled by a distinction of Story's he would appear to agree with Calhoun's assumption when he defines sovereignty to mean "supreme, absolute, uncontrolled power, the absolute right to govern." Consequentially enough, he takes exception to the opinion of Madison and of the Supreme Court that it is divisible. In support of this view he might, it is true, have adduced Blackstone, Bolingbroke and Hobbes, who took it from Bodin, who derived it from Roman law. Yet

this could only show that it is founded originally in pagan ignorance and Renaissance scepticism: both of which made mere wills or force the ultimate source of political power. As a thing of reason it is, however, the ultimate moral power to decide in any matter, implying a correlative obligation on the part of subject or citizen to conform, in consequence of his social nature. As divisible, in this sense, the idea was familiar to the Middle Ages, as may be verified from many passages in Mathew Paris. That Hamilton and Marshall both viewed the question in this light is clear from the *Federalist* No. 32 and from the latter's reasoning in *McCulloch vs. Maryland*. M. F. X. M.

Little Plays of St. Francis. By LAURENCE HOUSMAN. Small, Maynard and Co. \$3.00.

"When a man can say 'I have tasted the sweetness of St. Francis' he is as one set apart, because of the joy he has known." So it is with pilgrims who have lingered in the Umbrian Valley and dwelt on each memory that the Poverello left behind; so it is with those who keep "The Little Flowers" on their busy desks, to lend their lives a passing fragrance. To mention now in such a context, a newly-published book of plays, must seem extravagant, but only to those who have not read them.

There are eighteen short plays in all, divided evenly into three groups. These correspond roughly to the three periods in the life of "the poor little man of Assisi." The stories as they are told retain all their charm because the expression is in perfect taste, the atmosphere is haunting, and the characterization, admirable. From "The Revellers," where the rich merchant's son makes a brave showing in his plumes and velvet, to "Sister Death" and the last sweet words of his canticle, the character of Francis is handled with great delicacy and love. Some of the plays are not only literature but excellent "theater" as well, and four or five of them selected, would furnish up an evening such as any Catholic college might be proud of.

Laurence Housman needs no encouragement. His reputation as dramatist and producer was established years ago. But we can and should help him to realize that there is a reading public, even today, which is grateful to him for showing the world what heaps of literary and dramatic wealth lie hidden in our fine old Catholic tradition. R. T. G.

The Story of the Development of a Youth. ERNST HAECKEL. Letters to his Parents, 1852-1856. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$3.00.

Anything printed in the English tongue appears to be considered good enough for American readers. A trivial and strongly biased apology for Darwinism, greeted in Europe with the silence it deserves, is brought to America for our profound enlightenment. An original and powerful study of the life of Christ by an Italian Catholic is translated to the liking of an American Protestant. One of the late cases of this epidemic is the translation of the letters of Ernst Haeckel from the German work edited by Heinrich Schmidt, erstwhile secretary of Haeckel and the apologist for his disgraceful scientific frauds.

The book is of some value as an interesting picture of Haeckel drawn by himself at the beginning of his maturity. During the years that he spent at Wurzburg in the study of medicine, Haeckel wrote frequently to his parents, and the selection from those letters, as now presented, forms a many sided yet not inconsistent portrait. But how far is the portrait genuine? Have we authentic selections from his original letters, and nothing else? Unfortunately not. That a finishing hand has modified the record is demonstrable. No sooner had the German original appeared than a well known writer in *Stimmen der Zeit* pointed out the fact that the letters had been tampered with. One passage in particular, in which Haeckel appears to have known that Father Anderledy was

going to become General of the Society of Jesus thirty-four years before that event took place, engenders doubt as to the accuracy of other statements. It seems only fair, however, to believe that the publishers and translator of our English version of the volume are as guiltless of passing fiction for fact as are the prospective readers of the book.

W. M.

The Farington Diary. By JOSEPH FARINGTON. Edited by JAMES GREIG. Vol. I (July 13, 1793, to August 24, 1802). New York: George H. Doran Co., \$7.50.

We owe the publication of this extraordinarily interesting diary to the enterprise of the London *Morning Post*. Its existence had long been known; and it was "rediscovered" about two years ago. Its author, Joseph Farington, a Royal Academician, a pupil of Richard Wilson, was not a brilliant artist, although some of his sketches reproduced in this volume suggest Turner, but he was one of the most extraordinary men of his times. The "Diary" recalls Boswell's "Life of Johnson." Farington was all eyes and ears. He puts down in the simplest style, great world events as well as the time of his rising and retiring, the state of the temperature, the size and position of the tables and the houses where he dined, frequently adding the most accurate diagrams. Unlike Boswell, he is not the chronicler of a single man's doings and sayings, but the annalist of his times. He tells us naturally a great deal about the Royal Academy and of its domestic history. Great painters like Turner, Gainsborough, Reynolds, Lawrence and Hoppner, flit in and out of the record. But Farington is a man of many moods and wide sympathies. He seems to have known all the illustrious men and women of his time at home and in foreign lands. We get frequent glimpses at Horace Walpole. We hear Banti and Mara sing, catch Mirabeau and Burke in conversation, Burke murdering French and Mirabeau "executing" some atrocious English; we bow to princesses, rub elbows with kings, dukes and prime ministers, and at Yule-tide play at the delightful game of snip-snap-snorum. The "Diary" is a delightful book, it can be read backwards, and the logical sequence will not be disturbed, for, in reality, there is none. Nor does the book require it. It is a daily record of unrelated events in a busy man's career who, fortunately, was a keen observer of men and things, whose views on life and its essential duties were sound. Joseph Farington was a God-fearing Englishman, clean-minded, not free from prejudice, but with generous sympathies, quaint in his phraseology and delightfully natural, frank and sincere.

J. C. R.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

Announcements.—A volume that promises to be a very valuable addition to our Catholic literature on art has been prepared by Father Garesché. Under the title "Great Christian Artists" Father Garesché has gathered together interesting biographical and critical matter on Leonardo da Vinci, Michaelangelo, Raphael, Fra Angelico, Murillo, Rubens and Van Dyck. The book will contain eighty full page illustrations in duotone from photographs direct from the originals. The reputation enjoyed by the publishers, Bruce & Co., Milwaukee, is an assurance that the reproductions will be of the most artistic quality.—Many of our readers will remember the exquisite bit of verse "Quo Vadis," by Myles E. Connolly, published in AMERICA for March 17, 1923. The poem, reprinted in the *Literary Digest*, has now been set to music and was lately broadcasted from the largest broadcasting station in New England.

Who's Who.—Four of the big publishers, Doran, Appleton, Doubleday, and Scribners, have united in having a guide to the output of the literary season of 1923-24, compiled by Grant Overton, with the title, "American Nights Entertainment." It is a

400 page volume, at the nominal price of fifty cents, and frankly an advertising book about the interesting books and authors of the year, with a copious index that makes a valuable reference record. There are twenty-two formal chapters dealing with Conrad, Galsworthy, Wright, Ralph Connor, Wharton, Tarkington, Morley, Train, Lincoln, and dozens of other writers and their books. Because of the rapid spread of the habit of reading, interest in the personalities of authors is keen among book-buyers and Mr. Overton knows well how to satisfy this curiosity.

The Dim Past.—In the fourteenth century, Guy de Chauliac, who has been called the "Father of Surgery," wrote his "Ars Chirurgica," the principal text-book on surgery for nearly 400 years. The chapters relating to Wounds and Fractures has been translated and published (\$5.00) by W. A. Brennan of the Medical Department, John Crerar Library, Chicago. The translation will be of special interest to the medical profession, but Catholics will be glad to know that Guy de Chauliac was a distinguished churchman and was physician to no less than three Popes during the sometimes mis-called "Dark Ages."—A splendid addition to the History of England Series has been contributed by Rev. Ernest Hull, S.J., "John, Henry III and Later Medieval Period" (Kenedy). The non-Catholic inquirer will find in this brochure a true account of a much-maligned period of the religious history of England.—With some slight changes in style and a few additional notes, "The Crusades" (American Branch: Oxford Press, \$1.00), by Ernest Barker, is a reprint of his article in the Encyclopedia Britannica. With the few exceptions in which the author misses the true Catholic standpoint, the book is well written.

Phases of Economics.—"The Challenge of War," an economic interpretation, by Norman Thomas, is one of a series of pamphlets sponsored by a group of persons associated for the purposes expressed through the medium known as a League for Industrial Democracy. This pamphlet takes as its thesis the economic causes of war and exposes their influence in the inception, the carrying on, and the conclusion of war, and their determining dictates in peace-making. Viewed from this standpoint the idea of a single guilty nation in the last great war is an utter absurdity. All were equally guilty, though one got ahead of another in precipitating the catastrophe. In the words of Lloyd George the war was something into which the rulers "glided, or rather staggered or stumbled." The pamphlet is worth careful study. Its exposition of economic causes being the tap-root of war, merits an attentive examination.—There is homely wisdom in the man-made proverb "Reading good business books is good business." Wide experience and many years of active service may in the long run make a good business man, but modern efficiency demands that the business man be good from his early years. For that reason, such a book as "How to Think in Business" (McGraw-Hill), by Matthew Thomas McClure, is a valuable aid to the enterprising man of affairs. With the opening sentence of the volume as a text "Success in life depends on ability to solve problems," the author evolves the process of successfully handling business problems, from their inception to their final solution. Clear thinking and open-minded inquiry are the essentials. The treatise because of its illustrations from practical business experience is most interesting.

Philosophy.—"Buddhist Philosophy in India and Ceylon," by A. Berriedale Keith (Oxford University Press) is a masterpiece of scholarly investigation and discussion. It offers scanty consolation to those who evaluate the canonical writings of Christianity by one norm and the sacred books of the East by another, idealize Gotama, and read into the sayings attributed to him the philosophy of modern times. The doctrines of Buddhism

are tabulated under four captions, namely Buddhism in the Pali Canon, Developments in the Hinayana, the Philosophy of the Mahayana, Buddhist Logic. The arrangement is chronological. What little is known of the Buddha himself, his actual preaching and its originality is stated with reserve and caution. Not the least striking features of the book are its logic, accuracy and documentation.—The root of unhappiness and failure in life is ignorance, according to Louis E. Bisch, M.D., in his book of practical psychology written for the average man, "The Conquest of Self" (Doubleday, Page, \$2.00). Ignorance means false attitudes towards the great problems of life. Dr. Bisch discusses these problems briefly and lays down his directions how they are to be faced. While we may not agree with certain of the book's assumptions, nor with the treatment of the questions in every case, nevertheless there is much in it that will prove helpful and suggestive.

Dramatic.—Owen Davis did more than win the Pulitzer Prize when he wrote "Icebound" (Little, Brown, \$1.50). He added to our small store a native dramatic literature and gave us his second fine play. It is a picture of life among "the first families of New England": pure 100% Americans uncontaminated for ten generations by any foreign influences; sordid, grasping, hard, Yankees icebound by their deadly environment. The plot is constructed in masterly fashion with a telling climax at the end of the second act, but the real appeal lies in the characterization. From the heroine, an outsider and the only decent soul in the play, to the ten-year-old with the running nose, each figure is the finished work of an artist. Let us have more of these American plays.—After spending years of thoughtful study on his "Idyls," Tennyson would have found fresh inspiration in Lawrence Binyon's very beautiful play, "Arthur, a Tragedy" (Small, Maynard, \$1.50). This later day poet has used the old material, the love of Lancelot for Guinevere, but he has done what Tennyson could not do, he has written a real drama. It would not suffer by comparison with the "Idyls" and would yield some very profitable fruit in the class room.—Stuart Walker has made his Portmanteau Theater almost a household word. One expects from him quaintness of fancy and delicacy of touch. Both are to be found in the present volume, "More Portmanteau Plays" (Stewart, Kidd, \$2.50), especially in "The Lady of the Weeping Willow Tree."—The welcome accorded by the New York critics to that "brilliant farce" by H. W. Gribble, "March Hares" (Stewart, Kidd, \$2.00), disheartens the reviewer. It is bad enough that such things are written at all, but very much worse that there are audiences to applaud them. You will look in vain for one "brilliant" line, one breath of fresh air or one wholesomely funny situation from beginning to end. Summed up in a figure of speech it is cheap perfume.

Fiction.—The brevity and episodic nature of Willa Cather's "A Lost Lady" (Knopf.) forbid its being called a novel. The book will hardly merit the approbation given to "One of Ours," which won the Pulitzer Prize because it "best represents the wholesome atmosphere of American manners and manhood." The present story represents nothing but the unwholesome atmosphere of American womanhood. Marian Forrester has the heart of a courtesan and her sense of marital fidelity is only skin deep. The theme of the book is conventional and is relieved solely by the artistry that Mrs. Cather has not lost.

Through the pages of "Nameless River" (Duffield, \$2.00), by Vingie E. Roe, ride the usual assortment of cowboys, cattle rustlers, persecuted homesteaders, along with the "he-man" hero and the intrepid sheriff—all the stock characters dear to us from our dime-novel days. There are, however, some original touches that give the charm of novelty and the characters are

well and consistently drawn. A worth-while book for those who seek only an exciting and interesting story.

The early chapters, as well as the title of "The Red-Blood" (Harper, \$2.00), by Harold H. Armstrong, would lead one to expect a story of the successful struggle of a strong man in the face of opposition. But the book swiftly degenerates and becomes a commonplace record of very ordinary happenings. There is not a trace of the saving grace of humor, while with only one character, and that a minor one, can the reader feel any fellowship.

The mystery story "Baroque" (Dutton, \$2.00), by Louis Joseph Vance, is well named, for we are told by the author that baroque means odd, fantastic; the story deserves its title. The plot is woven about the New York Camorra and the Barocco twins, one of whom, the beautiful Francesca, is the heroine, and the other, her brother Angelo, whose name belies his character, is the villain of the story. The ending is a happy one for the beautiful Francesca, although she listens to much thunder, and wades through much blood before arriving.

The element of finance plays the most important part in the triangle story told by Bonnie Melbourne Busch in her novel, "His Mortgaged Wife" (Dorrance, \$1.75). This element makes the story more sordid than it might otherwise have been. There is nothing in the novel to recommend it. It has not even the technique that has helped other books of this ilk to gain a reading public.

The highly colored title of "The Scarlet Macaw" (Page, \$1.90), by G. E. Locke, is a clear indication of the exciting events which go to make up a rather striking detective story. The bird does indeed play his part, but the chief interest centers around a lady detective so astute as seriously to threaten the laurels of the only Sherlock. Those in search of a harmless thrill from a tale of murder and mystery need go no further.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Atlantic Monthly Press, Boston:
Revolutionary New England: 1691-1776. By James T. Adams. \$3.00.
- Benziger Bros., New York:
In the Wilds of the Canyon. By the Rev. H. S. Spalding, S.J. \$1.00.
- The J. W. Burke Co., Macon:
Slavery and Its Result. By Alfred H. Benner; Colored Soldiers. By W. Irwin MacIntyre; Eneas Africanus. By Harry Stillwell Edwards.
- The Century Co., New York:
The Man from Painted Post. By Joseph B. Ames. \$1.75; Fombombo. By T. S. Stribling. \$1.90.
- Columbia University Press, New York:
Legislative History of America's Economic Policy Towards the Philippines. By José S. Reyes, Ph.D.; Ledru-Rollin and the Second French Republic. By Alvin R. Calman, Ph.D.
- Dodd, Mead & Co., New York:
The Lengthened Shadow. By William J. Locke. \$2.00.
- George H. Doran Co., New York:
Post Mortem. By C. MacLaurin. \$2.50.
- E. P. Dutton & Co., New York:
The Lone Wolf Returns. By Louis Joseph Vance. \$2.00.
- Harper Bros., New York:
History of Art. Renaissance Art. By Elie Faure. Translated from the French by Walter Pach. \$7.50; Denny's Partner. By W. A. Rogers. \$1.75; Jo Ellen. By Alexander Black. \$2.00.
- Harvard University Press, Boston:
The Christian Faith and Eternal Life. By George E. Horv. \$1.00.
- H. L. Kilner Co., Philadelphia:
Father Billy. By the Rev. John E. Graham. \$1.50.
- A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago:
Pellucidar. By Edgar Rice Burroughs. \$1.75.
- The Macaulay Co., New York:
The Girl from Hollywood. By Edgar Rice Burroughs. \$1.90.
- The Macmillan Co., New York:
How to Experiment in Education. By William A. McCall, Ph.D.; Good Citizenship Through Story-Telling. By Mildred P. Forbes. \$1.60.
- Peter Marretti Co., Torino:
De Jure Parochorum. By the Rev. Ludovicus I. Fanfani, O.P.; Caeremoniale Solemnium Functionum Hebdomadae Majoris. By the Rev. Aloysius Moretti.
- Frederick A. Stokes Co., New York:
Come Home. By Stella G. S. Perry. \$2.00; Beautiful America. By Vernon Quinn. \$4.00.
- The Stratford Press, Boston:
Dramas of the Bible. By Dr. John S. Flory. \$2.00.
- P. Téqui, Paris:
La Bienheureuse Thérèse de l'enfant Jésus. By Abbé Paulin Gilotroux; La Mère et ses Enfants. By Mgr. Tessier; A Jésus-Hostie par Marie. By Abbé Henri Lanier.

Education

Is Literacy Enough?

A CASUAL reading of the President's proclamation calling for the observance of the week beginning November 18 as "Education Week," would leave the impression that all that is necessary for the formation of a good citizen is some training in reading, writing and arithmetic. A closer reading clears Mr. Coolidge from any suspicion of sympathy with this absurd but very common heresy, and shows him to be in full accord with that keen analysis of the bearing of education upon citizenship given by the late Lord Bryce in his "Modern Democracies." "Knowledge," writes Bryce, "is one only among the things which go to the making of a good citizen" and, in the judgment of many, it is by no means the most indispensable factor.

Probably because "the test of literacy" is the only practicable test which we can apply to prospective citizens and intending voters, we are prone to conclude that it is an accurate and, on the whole, an adequate test. Yet, as Bryce points out, honesty, uprightness, altruism, active good will, in brief what for want of a better term we call "character," form a complexus of qualities infinitely more desirable than the ability to read and write, or even to discourse with force and pertinence upon selected passages from the Constitution of the United States. Literacy is good, surely, but infinitely better is an intelligence quick to perceive what is fine and true, and a will steadily directing the individual towards its attainment. But for this, a culture which regards the intellect alone is woefully insufficient. Character can and does exist in the absence of literacy, while illiteracy does not, of itself, disqualify for citizenship of the highest and most useful type. "The first people who ever worked popular government," Bryce observes, "had no printed page to learn from"; and coming down to modern times, he asks if the "English rustics of sixty years ago, shrewd men, unable to read," and but little in touch even with the next parish, were not quite as well qualified for the duties of citizenship "as are their grandchildren today who read a newspaper and revel in the cinema." St. Joan of Arc could neither read nor write, and (incongruous juxtaposition!) contemporary documents show that while old Israel Putnam could take a redoubt with the best of them, his writing and spelling leave much to be desired.

Our quarrel, then, is not with literacy but with the theory that literacy is enough, and with the corollary that if our primary schools content themselves with teaching the elements of reading, writing and arithmetic, they have done their full duty in training our young people for good citizenship. The President, I gather, rejects both the theory and the corollary, and by pointing out that the first schools in this country included a factor with which our public schools of today uniformly dispense, opens the way for an indictment of the system which is unanswerable.

In order that there might be a properly educated clergy and well trained civil magistrates, one of the first thoughts of the early settlers was to provide for a college of liberal culture, while for the general diffusion of knowledge primary schools were established. Such a policy, once established, has continued to grow in extent.

Yet with a difference that is essential. It has been insisted even unto weariness that in these early schools religion had an important place; so much so, that in some New England institutions, little beyond the catechism was taught. Yet these schools reared a sturdy race of pioneers; in them was kept alert and vigorous that spirit of self-reliance and proper independence which later resulted in a people intelligent enough to enunciate some very noble principles of democracy, and brave enough to fight for them. One of the most striking instances of the insistence of the early Americans upon religion in the school, is found in the usually misquoted third article of the Northwest Ordinance, adopted by the Congress of the Confederation in 1787, "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." Religion, it will be noted, not knowledge, comes first in order of importance, and Greene is quite within the truth in writing in his "Foundations of American Nationality" that "one of the chief reasons for maintaining schools was declared to be the promotion of religion." How far the public school system as we have it today has departed from the ideal expressed in the Northwest Ordinance, and how little akin it is to the philosophy which Washington taught in his Farewell Address, need not be labored. With Madison and Hamilton, Washington believed that the maintenance of our democratic institutions depended primarily, not upon a literate but upon a virtuous people, and he stigmatized as a delusion the persuasion that virtue could long endure in the exclusion of religious belief. What these typical Americans would have thought of a school system which deliberately omitted all training in positive religion, is clear. "Knowledge" might be necessary for "good government and the happiness of mankind," but only when joined with the infinitely more important training in "religion and morality."

President Coolidge has declared this truth admirably in a letter addressed on September 30, to Dr. James E. Freeman, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Washington. The President writes:

Your work is to be commended because it represents the foundation of all progress, all government and all civilization. *That foundation is religion.*

Our country is not lacking in material resources, and though we need more education, it cannot be said to be lacking in intelligence. But certainly it has need of a greater practical application of the truths of religion. It is only in that direction that there is hope of a solution for our economic and social problems.

Whatever inspires and strengthens the religious belief and religious activities of the people, whatever ministers to their spiritual life, is of supreme importance. Without it all other efforts will

fail. With it there lies the only hope for success. The strength of our country is the strength of its religious convictions.

It would be difficult to state these important truths more clearly. If, as the President writes, the strength of our country lies in the religious convictions and lives of its citizens, if, again, in religion alone is to be found the solution of our economic and social problems, surely that system which we are asked to accept as "the cornerstone of our democratic institutions" should insist upon training the child, the future citizen, in religion. But that, precisely, is what the public school does not insist upon. Its insistence is that religious training shall have no part in the curriculum.

President Coolidge is right or the founders of this Republic were wrong. The Catholic school holds with the President and the founders. It believes that any system which deliberately excludes Almighty God from the mind and heart of the child is essentially defective, harmful in its effects upon the child, hurtful to the truest interests of democracy. For literacy is not enough. As the Northwest Ordinance has phrased the case, "religion, morality and knowledge," not knowledge alone, must give the child that training which best fits him for his duties as a man and as a citizen. PAUL L. BLAKELY, S.J.

Sociology

The Sailor and the Baker

AT sunrise on May 22, 1922, a sailor met a baker in a secluded spot near the Hudson River in Westchester County, New York. The sailor was unarmed, but the baker had a revolver. What speech the two held on meeting is not of record, but it is certain that the baker shot the sailor, killing him instantly. Immediately thereafter he departed to consult his lawyer, and a few days ago, after a detention which lasted in all about five months, the baker walked out of jail a free man.

Entirely without bearing upon the case is the circumstance that the baker was a millionaire and the sailor a poor penniless wretch with a bad reputation. In a few other respects, the case is curious and not without interest. The baker, for instance, did not deny the killing. In fact, he admitted it from the beginning, and his lawyer freely admitted it when addressing the jury. Nor did the baker at any time testify in his own behalf. Having stated that he killed the sailor, he was willing to let the matter rest. His lawyer, it is true, remarked incidentally that family reasons prevented the accused from taking the stand in his defense: cross-questioning by the State might bring out certain ugly accusations and attempts at blackmail either by the deceased sailor or by parties for whom he was acting. To shield his family the baker preferred to suffer whatever suspicion might thereby be moved in the mind of the public.

Now this attitude may indeed appear to be curious, not

to say suspicious, since innocent men are anxious, as a rule, to tell all they know of the case in which they are involved. Viewed legally, however, it was neither curious nor suspicious, and the judge was careful to caution the jury that no inference should be drawn from the defendant's silence. As a matter of fact, what the accused baker did was very simple, and, for his purpose, very wise. It was precisely what you and I would do, without reference to our bank-account, in similar case. Knowing that the law held him to be innocent, knowing too that in spite of his admission that he had killed the sailor no corroborative testimony could possibly be adduced by the State, the baker put his case into the keeping of a group of excellent lawyers, and awaited the result without a tremor. As one of this group remarked in passing, while the baker had killed the sailor in self-defense, it was not incumbent upon the baker to prove his innocence, and the State had been able to testify to nothing beyond a mass of unsupported suspicion. It is somewhat difficult to understand how the jury could return any verdict except "Not guilty," and this it did.

With this verdict the case ends legally, but not in the popular mind. Already the question has been asked, and with apparent seriousness, "Can a rich man kill a poor man and go scot free?" The serious answer, as is obvious, must be wrapped in a distinction. Any man, rich or poor, can kill any man, rich or poor, and go scot free if the State is unable to prove the killer guilty. If the State is able to prove guilt, punishment will be inflicted according to the degree of guilt. This is only saying, what is generally true, that accidents of rank and wealth mean nothing as far as the court is concerned. No court ever institutes an inquiry into the social or financial standing of the prisoner or his victim. To a somewhat startling paragraph Josh Billings once appended the warning, "This is writ sarkastick." I append no such warning, because I am guiltless of sarcasm. Yet it is a fact that thousands of our neighbors, many of them, it is true, aliens, are firmly convinced that American courts never rule on a prisoner's guilt or innocence before looking him up in Bradstreet's, or the Social Register.

In another sense, however, it is quite true that a rich murderer can count upon a million chances of defeating justice closed to the murderer who is poor. At the very outset he may escape by train, automobile or aeroplane, when the wretch without resources must trust to his heels. If caught or if, as in the case of our millionaire baker, he gives himself up, he has the invaluable aid of trained counsel whose fees can be paid only by the wealthy. Thus he may not even be indicted, and should the grand jury return a true bill, the fight has but begun. If he is unscrupulous, witnesses may be spirited away, a not uncommon method of blocking the processes of justice. Clever lawyers may suggest and obtain delay after delay, until witnesses die or move into another jurisdiction, and the case grows "cold," and conviction is practically impos-

sible. The judge, it is often said, sits to see that justice is done. That is true, but it is no part of a judge's office to suggest either to prosecutor or defender sources of evidence or lines of argument. Many a good case has been spoiled by a poor advocate, both for prosecution and defense. A judge is, rather, an umpire. He sees that the rules are observed. He does not, most emphatically, "try the case." If he did, what would be the use of a jury, and why have a prosecutor, or counsel for the defense? Judges who "try" cases are usually reversed on appeal.

With all these advantages conceded to any wealthy defendant, malefactor, if you will, I fail to see why this case of the baker and the sailor should stir so much excitement in socialistic and semi-socialistic circles. A rich man is bound to enjoy certain advantages in an action at law just as he does in a thousand other fields in life. There is nothing new or particularly startling in this fact. He can purchase better food, array himself in more suitable clothing, live in a more comfortable house, and, in general, surround himself with easier living conditions than are possible to the generality of mankind. If his teeth ache, he can secure the services of a skilled dentist, while you and I take our turn at the clinic to be operated on by an apprentice. Should he fall ill, learned physicians bob grey heads in anxious consultation, and the rest of us crawl into bed in our hall room, wondering if the boss will dock us for absence. Every aid that science can devise and money buy is at the command of the wealthy patient, but poor Lazarus takes his chances with an ambulance surgeon and resigns himself to the grim mercies of a ward in a public hospital. Let us not indict the surgeon and the physician. Since their purpose is to restore health, it makes no difference to them whether their patient be rich or poor, but—some of them never see the patient who is poor.

The case of the sailor and the baker is, then, no indictment of our courts, except by judgment of that minority whose members believe that an accused man should be considered guilty until he is able to prove that he is innocent. No doubt this position is not so absurd as most Americans are apt to consider it, but in the United States we have accustomed ourselves to the principle that it is better to let twelve guilty men go unwhipped of justice than to scourge one man who is innocent. We have steadily held to the principle that no man shall be compelled to give testimony against himself, and judges invariably warn juries that inference of guilt is not to be drawn from the bare fact of a prisoner's silence. Perhaps there was a time in the history of civilization when these principles were held to be absurd. Today, at least in theory, no one denies them.

Could it be established that by fault of the system itself wealthy criminals are actually able to purchase decisions in their favor, the case would be essentially altered. As far as I know, however, this accusation has never been

seriously offered. Occasionally a jury may be tampered with, but instances in which the judge has been "bought," either by money or by promise of promotion, are practically unknown. If wealthy criminals are generally acquitted while pauper criminals are usually convicted, the reason is to be found in the fact that the rich man can secure the services of the most skilled counsel, while the poor man must take what is offered. Thus wealth has its weight even in our courts, not because they are corrupt, but because they are human.

As Chief Justice Taft has told us, our courts have shortcomings enough without attributing to them faults of which they are not guilty. And to the critics who instance this recent case of the sailor and the baker as proof that the courts are prejudiced in favor of the wealthy I would put one question, "Do you hold that a wealthy defendant should be considered guilty until he can prove that he is innocent?" If you do, discussion must end, since we have no common ground for debate. If you do not so hold, then you must agree that you too would have voted with the Westchester jury to discharge the baker, not because he was wealthy but because the prosecution could not prove that he was guilty.

JOHN WILTBYE.

Note and Comment

The Press of Georgia
Commended

IT is good reading to see that the eighth annual convention of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia, after hearing the report of its publicity committee, was able in its resolutions to commend the press of Georgia for having almost without exception "manifested in both news articles and editorials a hearty support of every effort calculated to abate intolerance in the State." No little has been contributed to such a result by that model Association of Catholic laymen which has been ceaselessly active to remove misunderstanding and promote friendly feeling among the citizens of its State. Seven hundred Catholic laymen, from every section of Georgia, attended the convention.

Austrian and
German Convents

LETTERS continue to reach us telling of the life and death struggle in the convents of Germany, where starvation is staring the inmates in the face, as day by day they are wondering how they can be able to meet the cost of food and fuel. In Austria too the tide of suffering has not yet receded from those institutions which are most dependent upon charity. "We are still just in the same position as during the past years," writes a Carmelite nun. "Divine Providence is our help and refuge." Then, giving impressions from within her own enclosure, she writes:

They say, at least in other countries, that in Austria things are better now. But we here feel little of it as yet. We are still

confronted with practically the same difficulties as before. It is true that poor Germany is in an even more desperate condition. Their mark is far below our krone. There is only one star of hope shining in this terrible night of sin and sorrow, of grief and suffering, which has come over Central Europe. It is the firm conviction that God's time for mercy will come sooner or later. This confidence keeps the poor sufferers from despair.

It certainly is further proof of God's loving Providence to have given our sweet Blessed Little Flower to the nations in this terrible pass. How many, many bitter tears has she not helped to dry already!

For these brave souls who are so confidently struggling through the blackness of their long night of sorrow God will surely have a magnificent reward.

Conference on Catholic Centers

AT their meeting in Washington in 1918, the members of the Hierarchy voted unanimous approval of the plan submitted to them for a system of Catholic centers for young men to meet the very obvious and pressing need for such work to parallel the "Y." The conditions resulting from the entrance of the United States into the war, however, delayed the carrying out of these plans. Now, under more favorable circumstances, the work is to be resumed, and a series of informal conferences has been announced, to be held at the Fenwick Club, Cincinnati, on October 18 and 19, immediately following the convention of the National Conference of Catholic Men.

While a number of centers of this work have been already planned, it is very desirable for those interested in it to come together for discussion, cooperation and the exchange of experiences, and to provide for the standardization of these enterprises. The Fenwick Club has been chosen as the scene of the meeting, because it is a good example of a self-supporting center for young men, excellently equipped for its purpose, and will thus afford an object lesson to those who attend. Archbishop Moeller has issued his cordial invitation to the Hierarchy to send such representatives as they choose to the meeting. Those wishing to participate are invited to signify their intention to the Rev. Edward Garesché, S.J., Moderator of the C. Y. M. C. A., St. Louis University, St. Louis, Mo.

Why Science Should Be Modest

THE absurdity of the oracular utterances on the subject of evolution is again made evident by the facility with which old theories, long proposed as unquestionable facts, may be discarded over night. Thus J. H. Reynolds concludes an article on "The Gaseous Nebulae," in the issue of *Nature* for September 8 by saying:

The old idea that the gaseous nebulae were the primitive forms of matter from which stars were evolved must, it seems, be given up for the exactly contrary hypothesis: that they had their origin in stellar outbursts, where matter passed from complex to simpler forms by atomic disintegration under the stress of extreme temperature development.

Yet what had been more certain during the last few de-

CADES of years than the gaseous nebulae theory! The article in question gives the substance of Mr. Reynolds' address delivered before the Birmingham University Physical Society.

The Food Problem Finally Solved

ACCORDING to Dr. Francis A. Cave, of Boston, eating is soon to go out of fashion. At a convention of the Middle States Society of Electronic Medicine, held at Chicago at the beginning of this month, he predicted that electrical vibrations would compose the menu card of the future sybarite. Factory workers, too, will simply gather at noon time into an electrical annex to absorb a varied diet of electrical vibrations standardized by electrical experts as best calculated to fit the various groups of laborers for their peculiar occupations. Diseases will present no more difficulty than the food problem since their diagnosis and treatment will be simply comparable to radio tuning, a characteristic vibration for each disease. We had long ago been told that man needs but little here below, but needs that little strong. Prohibition has disproved the latter clause, and now we find that the little that man does actually need is an electrical apparatus and a radio outfit. The world does move!

The A. F. of L. Convention

THE Portland Convention of the American Federation of Labor strongly voiced its loyalty to the Government while at the same time it severely censured what it described as "State invasion of industrial life." Equally outspoken was its opposition to the Ku Klux Klan and the Fascist movement. On the other hand it now announced that the hour had struck for the pronouncement of a labor program that "shall more nearly express the full implications of trade unionism." The report of the Executive Council states:

Henceforth the organization of the workers into trade unions must mean the conscious organization of one of the most vital functional elements for enlightened participation in a democracy of industry whose purpose must be the extension of freedom, the enfranchisement of the producer as such, the rescue of industry from chaos, profiteering and purely individual whim, including individual incapacity, and the rescue of industry also from the domination of incompetent political bodies.

Industry must organize to govern itself, to impose upon itself tasks and rules and to bring order into its own house. Industry must bring order to itself constructively or it will have an order thrust upon it which would be demoralizing if not fatal.

Resolutions were passed on child labor, the Supreme Court, immigration, unemployment, politics, women in industry, education and other questions. "Through the muddling conflicts of groups who still find it impossible to come together in cooperation," says the Executive Council's report, "we must look to a future that must have its foundation upon cooperation and collaboration." This sounds well, may the future reality correspond with it!

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